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- CLARK & Co., Engineers and Patent Blowing Machine Manufacturers, Tunnel Iron Works, 238, Wapping, and Manufacturers of the Patent Convex Revolving Safety Wrought Iron Shutters; office, 31, Canncery-lane.
- CLARK, G., Importer of Colonial Coffees. Orders executed promptly with due consideration to the quality of every article in the Tea and Coffee Trade, 135, Tottenham-court-road.
- CLARE, J., Engraver, &c., 7, Seckford-street, Clerkenwell.
- CLARK, J. H., Court Head-Dress and Transparent Peruke Maker, &c., 1, Vigo-street, Regent-street.
- CLARKE, J., Ancient Irish and Modern Lace, Fan and Moire Antique Warehouse. By appointment—Milliner, Dress, Corset, and Habit Maker, at 170, Regent-street, 79, Bold-street, Liverpool, and 24, Princes-street, Manchester.
- CLEAVER, F. S., Wholesale and Export Perfumer; sole Inventor of the celebrated Honey Soap, Winter Soap,
- May Blossom Soap, and every other description of Fancy Soaps, Perfumery, &c., 18, Red Lion-square, Holborn.
- CLAYTON, W., & Co., Wholesale Export Perfumers, Fancy Soap and Brush Manufacturers, and General Warehousemen, 72, Watling-street.
- COOLING, A., & Co., Manufacturing Perfumers, 134, London-wall.
- COLMAN, J. & J., Mustard (warranted to keep in all climates), Rice, and Wheat Starch, and Indigo Blue Manufacturers, 26, Cannon-street, City.
- COLLINGRIDGE, C. B., Grocer and Cheesemonger, 8, Cop-pice-row, Clerkenwell.
- COLLINS, R. N., Wholesale Druggist and Patentee of the Disinfecting Powder for instantaneously destroying offensive smells, purifying sick rooms, workshops, &c., and for making Bleaching Liquid, 1, Oxford-court, Cannon-street, City.
- COMYNS, H., Optician, 5, Hereford-place, King's-rd., Chelsea.
- CONNOR & Co., Glass Works, Ballymacarrett, Belfast.
- COOK, R., Shipping Butcher, 8, Churton-street, Pimlico.
- COOK, SON, & Co., Manchester Warehousemen, St. Paul's Churchyard.
- COOPER, G. A., & Co., Fancy Tea-Box and Tea-Canister Makers and General Japanners, 45, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell.
- COOPER, J., & Co., Manufacturers of Patent Pianofortes for Exportation, 43, Moorgate-street.
- COOPER, J., & SONS, Manufacturers of the Patent Solid Pianofortes for India and the Colonies, of great strength and fullness of tone, 70, Berners-street, Oxford-street.
- COOPER, W. T., Dispensing Chemist, Manufacturer of the Patent Aerated Water, and Pure Dietetic Cocoa, and Inventor of Improved Tooth Brushes and Antiseptic Tooth Paste, 26, Oxford-street.
- COOPER, W. F., Manufacturer of all kinds of Waterproof Clothing, General Outfitter, and Importer of American Over-Shoes, 16, High-street, Aldgate.
- COPNER, —, Fishmonger, New-street, Birmingham.
- COTTON, T., Watch and Chronometer Spring Manufacturer, 11, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell.
- COTTON, C. R., Export Cooper, Bermondsey-wall.
- COULSHAW, WILLIAM, Jun., Tailor and Trowser Maker, 17 Radcliffe-terrace, Goswell-road, opposite Spencer-street.
- COW, P. B. (successor to Charles Macintosh & Co.), Patentees of Vulcanized India-rubber, and other Waterproof Cloths, Air Beds, Pillows, Cushions, &c., 46, Cheapside.
- COX, E., Improved Plane and General Mechanical Tool and Lathe Manufacturer, 15, Great Queen-st., Lincoln's-inn.
- COX, F., Optician, 109, Newgate-street.
- COX, J., Optician and Mathematical Instrument Maker, 5, Barbican.
- CRAIGHT, R., Scale, Weight, and Weighing Machine Manufacturer, 94, Goswell-street.
- CRIBB, W. E., Chronometer and Watch Maker, 17, Southampton-row, Russell-square.
- CRISP, W. G., Goldsmith and Jeweller, 64, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell.
- CROGGER & Co., Patent Asphalte Roofing, Boiler, Railway, Sheathing, and Inodorous Felt, (for damp walls,) 2, Dowgate-hill.
- CROSTA, CETTA, GOBBI, & Co., Wholesale and Export Picture Frame and Looking Glass Manufacturers, 34, St. John's-lane, West Smithfield.
- CROSSLEY, HENRY, & Co., Stuff Dyers and Finishers, Calder Dye Works, Brighouse.
- CROWTHER, J., Bleacher, Lyon Fold, Blackley.
- CURR, GEORGE, & Co., Damascus Steel Works, Lead Mill-street, Sheffield, Manufacturers of Steel, Saws, Files, Edge Tools, &c.
- DALGLISH, D. & SON, Outfitters, Clothiers, Hatters, Hosiers, and Shirt Makers, 23 and 24, South-bridge, Edinburgh.
- DAVIES, JAS., & SON, Wholesale and Export Boot and Shoe Warehouse, 9, Gracechurch-street.
- DAVIES, W. J., Emery and Black Lead Manufacturer, New Weston-street, Southwark.
- DAVIS, E. J., Marquee and Rick Cloth Manufacturer, West Smithfield.
- DAVIS, G. P., Manufacturer of Lancelott's Patent Cooking Apparatus, and the Portable Washing Coppers, Gas Fitter, &c., 11, Barbican, City.
- DAVY, F., Merchant, Exeter.
- DAWSON, THOS., jun., Carriage Lamp Maker, 29, Great St. Andrew-street, Broad-street, Holborn.

- DAWSON & MORRIS, Isinglass Importers, 96, Fenchurch-st.
- DEANE, ADAMS, & DEANE, Gun, Pistol, and Rifle Makers, by Appointment to H.R.H. Prince Albert, 30, King William-street, City.
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- DEAR & WARRINER, Wholesale and Export Toy Warehouse, 191, Bishopsgate-street, Without.
- DEARE, F. D., Australian Commission Merchant, East India Chambers, Leadenhall-street.
- DEED, J. S., Currier, Morocco, Roan, Kid, and Lamb Leather Dresser, and Wool Rug Manufacturer, 9 and 10, Little Newport-street.—Manufactory, Steyne Mills, Acton.
- DEFRIES, N., Consulting Gas Engineer, Inventor and Patentee of the Dry Gas Meter and Gas Bath, Manufacturer of Gas Cooking Stoves on the most approved principles, 145, Regent-street.
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- DE PASS & SONS, Merchants, 20, Finsbury-place.
- DEVILLE & Co., Lamp, Lighthouse Lanthorn and Reflector Manufacturers, and Gas Fitters, 367, Strand.
- DICKINSON, H. J., & Co., Billiard and Bagatelle Table Manufacturers; a variety of Slate Tables always in stock, for Home Use and Exportation, 84, Gray's-inn-lane.
- DIXON, SONS, & TOOKE, Wholesale Jewellers, 37, Hatton-garden.
- DIXON, T., Saddlers' Tool Maker, Hall-lane, Walsall.
- DOBBY, JOHN, Cutler, &c., 95, Strand.
- DOBSON, H. T., Wire Worker, Blind Maker, Wrought Iron Verandah Builder, Surrey Wire Works, 55, Borough-road, Southwark, and at Church-st., Walton-on-Thames.
- DOBSON, J., Optician and Mathematical Instrument Maker, 268, High Holborn.
- DOVE, E., Die Sinker, Seal Cutter, Embosser, Seal and Fancy Wafer Manufacturer, 39, Forster-street, Ashley-crescent, City-road.
- DOWLER, M., Window Blind, Venetian, Spanish, and Oriental Shade Manufacturer, Spring Sun Blinds for Shop-fronts, Greenhouses, Verandahs, &c., 143, Fetter-lane, Fleet-street.
- DUCKWORTH, F. J., & Co., Wine Merchs., 2, Brabant-st.
- DUDEEN, H., & SONS, Cornfactors and Wharfingers, East Hall, Bermondsey.
- DUDLEY, J., Boiler Maker, Cottage-row, Bermondsey.
- DUNCAN, R., & Co., Wine Merchants, East India and New Zealand Agents, 43, Lime-street.
- DUNN, D., Manufacturer of Soluble Chocolate, Cocoa, Essence of Coffee, &c., 9, King's-row, Pentonville.
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- DUTHOIT & Co., Patent Portable Umbrella Tent Manufacturers, 6, Finsbury-place, South.
- DYMOND, H., & Co., Wholesale Boot and Shoe Manufacturers, and Dealers in Gutta Percha Goods, 1, Regent-street, City-road.
- EARDENSOHN, J., Wholesale and Export Ladies' Boot and Shoe Manufacturer, 10, Welclose-square.
- EARL, WILLIAM, Esq., Timber Merchant, Commercial-road, Lambeth.
- EARNshaw, T., Watch, Clock, and Chronometer Manufacturer to the Admiralty, 119, High Holborn.
- EDWARDS, J., Gas Apparatus Manufacturer and Fitter, 39 A, Ray-street, Clerkenwell.
- EDWARDS, D. & H. & Co., Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation—Patentees of the Preserved Potato, an invaluable sea store, adopted generally in the Royal Navy, by her Majesty's commissioners for emigration, the honourable E.I.C., and for shipping in general; and for its economy and facility in cooking, recommended for domestic use—supplied by all provision merchants in the United Kingdom, Colonies, &c.—1, Bishopsgate-street.
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- EGLESE, J., Watch Maker and Goldsmith for Home and Exportation, 30, Cornhill.
- ELLEY, T. B., Shoe and Leather Manufacturer, Consignee for French Shoes and Leather, Stafford, and 3, Victoria-street, Holborn, Wholesale Warehouse, 74, Dale-street, Liverpool.
- ELLIS, T., Carriage and Harness Maker for Exportation to extreme climates, 60, High-street, Whitechapel.
- ELLWOOD, J. & SONS, Wholesale and Export Hat Manufacturers, 24, Great Charlotte-street, Blackfriars-road.
- ELSTON & SONS, R., Watch Dial Manufacturers, 24, Myddleton-street, Clerkenwell.
- EMES, J., Trunk, Chest, and Packing-Case Manufacturer, 110, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury. Bullock and Overland Trunks for India.
- EMES, JOHN, Railway Luggage Sheet, Waterproof Canvas, and Tarpaulin Manufacturer, Marchant's Row, Limehouse Cut.
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- EVANS & HILL, real Manufacturers of all descriptions of Steel Mills and Screw Jacks, also the Improved Corn Mills and Dressing Machine for the Colonies, 14, Holywell-row, Worship-street, Finsbury.
- EVANS, J., & SON, Engine, Lathe, and Tool Manufacturers, and General Machinists; Contractors to her Majesty's Honourable Board of Ordnance, and Patent Axletree Manufacturers, by appointment to her Majesty and the Royal Family; all kinds of Machinery supplied on liberal terms to merchants and captains for Exportation; 104, Wardour-street, Soho.
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- FAREBROTHER, CLARK, & LYE, Auctioneers, Surveyors, and Estate Agents, 6, Lancaster-place, Strand.
- FARLEY, J. S., Original Cemetery Stone Works, Statuary, Mason, and Monument Sculptor, Kensal Green, and 12, Goswell-road, Clerkenwell.
- FAUNTLEROY, C., Worsted and Yarn Spinner and Dyer, 13, Ropemaker-street, Finsbury.
- FELGATE, W., & Co., Ship and Insurance Agents, 4, Clement's-lane.
- FERRARI, B., Wholesale and Export Manufacturer of Barometers, Looking Glasses, Picture Frames, and Fancy Cabinet Goods, 48, Compton-street, Clerkenwell.
- FITCH, J. R., Wholesale Jeweller and Birmingham Agent, every description of Gas Chandeliers and Fittings, 51, Hatton-garden.
- FLATHER, DAVID, (late Brown and Flather), Manufacturer of Braces, Bits, Joiners' Tools, Skates, &c., of superior quality, Solly Works, Sheffield.
- FLETCHER, JOHN, & SONS, Chronometer, Watch, and Clock Makers to the Lords of the Admiralty, 48, Lombard-street.
- FONTAINE, W., Tallow Chandler, Soap Maker, and Oilman, East-street, Hoxton.
- FORD, F. C., & Co., Ships' Provision and Wine Merchants, 114, Minories.
- FORSTER & SMITH, Merchants, New City Chambers, Bishopsgate-street.
- FRASER, J., Wholesale and Export Boot and Shoe Manufacturer, 172, Saint George-street.
- FRENCH, J., & SONS, Wholesale Manufacturing Goldsmiths and Jewellers, 5, Newcastle-place, Clerkenwell-close.
- FREEMAN, Builder and Architect, New Walk, Shad Thames.
- FROST, J., Copper and Brass Founder, 8, Allen-street, Goswell-street.
- FROST, W., Brass Founder and General Caster for Gas Fitters, Engineers, and Ship Builders, 17, Half Moon-street, Bishopsgate-street.
- FROST, NOAKES, & VINCENT, (originally, James Frost,) Brass and Cock Founders, Pump Makers, &c., 195, Brick-lane, Whitechapel, London.
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- FURTH, DANIEL, Merchant, 29, Nicholas-lane.

- GAFFIN, T., Carrara Marble Works, choice designs of Monuments, Tablets, and every description of Marble, Stone, and Scagliola Work, 63, Quadrant, Regent-street.
- GALLY, P. & P., & Co., Opticians and Looking-Glass Manufacturers, 68, Hatton-garden.
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- GARDNER, J., Bird Stuffer to the Royal Family and various Museums, 426, Oxford-street.
- GASS, S. H. & D., Manufacturing Silversmiths and Jewelers, 166, Regent-street.
- GATES, T., Gold and Silver Leaf, and Gold Beaters' Skin Manufacturer, 24, Vine-street, Hatton Garden.
- GATTI, A. & G., Manufacturers of Preparations for Artificial Florists, 20, Coppiece-row, Clerkenwell, and 28 and 29, Bridge-road, Lambeth.
- GEHARD, ROTTMAN, & Co., Agents to Foreign Manufacturers, 83, Hatton-garden.
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- GLOVER, JOHN, & SON, Brass and Malleable Iron Founders, Buckle Manufacturers, &c., Birmingham-st., Walsall.
- GODDARD, J. A., Custom House, Shipping, Colonial, Foreign, and Commission Agent. Merchandise, Works of Art, Wines, Baggage, &c., forwarded and received to and from all parts of the world. 65, Lower Thames-street, opposite the Custom House.
- GODDARD, T., General Agent & Outfitter, 146, Cheapside.
- GOODEHERE & Co., Wholesale and Export Ironmongers, Iron and Brass Founders, Ship Smiths, Tinmen and Braziers; Manufacturers of Troop, Emigrant, and Ships' Fire Hearths, 9, Wellesloe-square.
- GOODE & BOLAND, Gold and Silver Chain Manufacturers, 59, Hatton-garden, and Birmingham.
- GORDON, J. D., 6, Eldon-street, Finsbury, Inventor of the Patent Lever Screw-Suspension Compensating Tubes for the Pianoforte.
- GORDON, J. G., Druggist and Veterinary Chemist, 144, High-street, Whitechapel.
- GOSLETT, A., Wholesale Looking Glass Manufacturer, Crown, Sheet, Patent Plate, and Ornamental Glass Merchant, 26, Soho-square.
- GOY, EVANS, & Co., General Outfitters, 175, Piccadilly, and 24 and 25, Cornhill.
- GRAHAM, J., Woollen Draper, Shirt Maker, Hosier, and Outfitter, 179, High-street, Edinburgh.
- GRAY, R., (from Collards,) Patent Pianoforte Manufacturer, with Metallic Plate, (for extreme climates,) 39, Edward-street, Hampstead-road.
- GRAY, T. W., Hydraulic Engineer, Brass and Iron Founder, Brazier, Plumber, &c., 79, King William-street.
- GRANVILLE & Co., Manufacturers of India Rubber Waterproof Cloths and Garments, peculiarly suitable for Hot or Cold climates. Air Cushions and Swimming Belts; Patent Mineralised Rubber for engineering purposes, India Rubber Webs, Mohair, Alpaca, Gemappe, and Silk Braids of all descriptions, 9, Gresham-street West.
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- GREENHILL, C., Morocco-Case and Watch Material Manufacturer, 12, Gt. Sutton-street, Clerkenwell.
- GREENWOOD, T., Church, Turret, House, and Musical Clock Manufacturer, 5, St. James's-walk, Clerkenwell.
- GRIFFITHS, HENRY, Looking-Glass Manufacturer, Carver and Gilder, 27, Drury-lane, London.
- GRIMOLDI & STOPPANI, Barometer, Thermometer, and Sympiesometer Manufacturers, 31, Brook-street, Holborn.
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- GROVER & Co., Patent Seal Envelope, Note and Letter Paper Makers, and General Stationers. Depot for Measam & Co.'s Medicated Cream Soap, and Regenerative Carpet Soap, 238, Strand, late of 4, Castle street, Holborn.
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- GUTTERIDGE & Co., Carriage Builders for Home Use or Exportation to all Climates, 29, Davies-street, Berkeley-square.
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- HAMPDEN & Co., General Commission and British and Foreign Patent Agents, &c., 448, West-strand, London.
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- HARRIS & SON (successors to J. Howell), Mathematical Instrument Manufacturers, 50, Holborn.
- HARRISON, HENRY, & Co., Tailors, Woollen Drapers, Hatters, and Men Mercers, Agent for C. Macintosh and Co.'s garments, Air-proof Cushions, Pillows for Invalids, Umbrellas, &c.—Mourning made to order on the shortest notice, and Liveries of every description—4, Market-street, Sheffield.
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- HARRIS, R., & Co., Furniture and Bedding Manufacturers, 124 and 125, High Holborn.
- HART, J. T., Coach, Harness, and Engine-hose Currier, 16, Union-street East, Spitalfields.
- HARTILL & LOCKINGTON (from Broadwood's), Pianoforte Makers, with Metallic Plates for extreme climates, 41, Kenton-street, Brunswick-square.
- HARTREE, W. T., Export Cooper, &c., 7, Charlotte-row, Bermondsey.
- HARTSHORNE, G., jun., Iron Merchant and Manufacturer of Chain Cables, Anchors, &c., 12, Little Tower-street, London, and Stourbridge, Worcestershire.
- HAWKINS, J., Engineer and Smith in general, Hatfield-street, Stamford-street.
- HAWKINGS, J., Plate and Looking-glass Warehouse, 5, Albion-place, Blackfriars Bridge.
- HAWKINGS, J., Wholesale Stationer, 5, Albion-place, Blackfriars Bridge.
- HAYES, J., Surgeon-Dentist and Cupper, 42, St. Martin's-lane, Charing-cross.
- HEARN, J., Refiner and Dealer in Gold and Silver Ores and Metals, 11, Jerusalem-passage, Clerkenwell.
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- HEPTINSTALL, W., Gun Manufacturer to the Hon. Board of Ordnance and the Hon. East India Company, 18, Swan-street, Minories.
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- HEWETSON, JOSEPH, Sheet Zinc Manufacturer, Wholesale and for Exportation, 21, Sommers-place East, New-road, opposite Burton-crescent.
- HEWITT, J., Wholesale Watch Glass Manufacturer, Ballymacarrett, Belfast.
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- HILL & STONE, Coach Builders and Harness Makers, 20 and 21, Little Moorfields, and 49, London Wall.
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- HODGETTS, GEORGE, Druggist and Oilman, opposite the Post-office, Westbromwich.
- HOE, R., Trunk, Chest, and Packing Case Manufacturer; Cases lined with Tin, Zinc, or Copper; Bullock and Overland Trunks, and Tin Boxes for India—44, Leadenhall-street.
- HOLMES, JOSEPH, Spring Knife Cutler, Bridge-st., Sheffield.
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- HOLDICH, G. M., Organ Builder, 4, Judd-place East, King's Cross, New-road.
- HOLLANDS, D. F., Jun., Wharfinger and Coal Merchant, Bermondsey-wall.
- HOLLIS, G., Pewterer and Manufacturer of Worms, Stills, Refrigerators, Soda Water and Beer Machines, Pots, &c., 27, Crown-street, Finsbury-square.
- HOLGATE, J., Contractor for Railway Stores, Cotton Waste Dealer, &c., 9, Arthur-street West, City.
- HOLGATE, J., & Co., (late Blow), Curriers, Leather Dressers, and Manufacturers of Machine Straps, Hose Pipes, &c., 21, Great Dover Road.
- HOLMAN, E. W., Pianoforte Maker for Home use or Exportation to extreme Climates, 10, Grafton-st., Fitzroy-sq.
- HOOLE, W., Steel, Metal, File, and Tool Merchant, (Sheet-Steel for Engraving Plates,) Rolled Brass and German Silver—Brass, German Silver, and Tin Tubes—Brass and German Silver Castings, Melting Pots, Clock Materials, &c., 21, St. James's-walk, Clerkenwell.
- HORN, J. & Co., (Successors to Mr. John Hague,) Engineers and Millwrights, Iron Founders, Boiler Makers, &c., 14, High-street, Whitechapel.
- HOPKINS, G., Trunk, Plate Case, and Portmanteau Manufacturer, Ladies and Gentlemen's Outfitter, 36A, Lamb's Conduit-street, opposite the Foundling.
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- HOTCHKIN and MOBES, Ship and Insurance Agents, 3, East India Chambers, Leadenhall-street.
- HOUFFE, Draper, Knaresborough.
- HOUGH, PETER, Card Maker, Glasgow.
- HOVENDEN, R., Wholesale Perfumer, 57 and 58, Crown-street, Finsbury.
- HOWARTH, H., Chemical Works, near Accrington.
- HOY, J., & Co., Wine and Spirit Merchants, 6, Store-lane, Belfast.
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- HUNT & SON, Feather Bed, Mattress and Palliase Manufacturers, 13, Weston-place, King's-cross.
- HUNTER, R., Manufacturer of the celebrated Deal Waterproof Coats, Seamen's Suits, South-westers, &c., Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation, 145, Ratcliff Highway.
- HUNTER, J., Merchant, 110, Fenchurch-street.
- HULETT, D., & Co., Manufacturers of Gas Fittings in Chandeliers, Hall Lanterns, &c.; also Tin, Brass, Copper, and Patent Welded Wrought Iron Tubes, for Gas or Steam; Patentees and Manufacturers of Gas Meters, 55 and 56, High Holborn.
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- INGRAM, J., Export Upholsterer, 29, City-road.
- JACKSON, WILLIAM, & Co., Merchants and Manufacturers of Saws, Files, Edge Tools, Joiners' Tools, Scythes, Sickles, Sheep Shears, Britannia Metal and Plated Goods, Needles, Spades, Shovels, Anvils, Vices, Railway, Waggon, and Carriage Springs, Steel Converters and Refiners; also, Cutlery of every description, and all kinds of Sheffield Hardware—Sheffield.
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- JACOBS & TOWERS, Carvers, Gilders, & Wholesale Looking Glass Manufacturers, 56, Mansell-st. Goodman's fields.
- JACKSON & GRAHAM, Upholsterers, Cabinetmakers, Interior Decorators, & Carpet Manufacturers, 37 & 38, Oxford-st.
- JAMRACK, J. C., Naturalist, Fixed Agent to the Zoological Society at Amsterdam, 164, Ratcliff-highway.
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- JENKINS, W. S., Engraver and Printer, 52, Mansell-street, Goodmansfields.
- JENKINSON, W., Saddler, Home & Export Harness and Saddle Manufacturer, 44, London Wall, City.
- JERRAM, G. T., Soap Manufacturer, General Perfumery and Fancy Brush Warehouse, 69, Hatton-garden.
- JOHNSON, H., Builder and Contractor, 46, Hatton-garden.
- JONES, G., Diamond Worker and Jeweller, 20, Baker-street, Bagnigge Wells-road, Clerkenwell.
- JONES, J. C. & Co., Manufacturers of Pianofortes expressly for Foreign Climates, &c., 21B, Soho-square.
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- KENYON, T. & Co., Manufacturing Chemists, Newton Bank; Chemical Works, Miles Platting, near Manchester.
- KING, GEORGE, Real Manufacturer of Paint, Household, and Fancy Brushes, for Exportation, 116, Bunhill-row, Finsbury.
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- LANKSHEAR, T., Manufacturer of Desks, Dressing Cases, Pocket Books, Blotting Cases, &c., 18, Seckford-street, Clerkenwell.
- LANSDELL, T., Tailor, Clothier, & Outfitter, 327, High Holborn.
- LATHAM, J., Wholesale and Export Pianoforte Manufacturer, 28, Howland-street, Fitzroy-square.
- LAUGHTON, J., Wholesale Export Boot and Shoe Manfr. and Warehouseman, 46, Mansell-street, Goodman's-fields.
- LAYTON, E., Patent Pianoforte Manufacturer, 121, St. John-street, Clerkenwell, and 18, Goulde-terrace, Islington.
- LE CAPELEIN, STEELE, & CO., Chief Patent Office, 123, Chancery-lane; Branch Offices in the Chief Towns at home and on the Continent. Prospectuses gratis.
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- LEE, Coach Builder, Park Lane.
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- LEONARD, T., Musical, Church, and Turret Clock Manufacturer, and Mechanician. Every description of Clocks and Machinery for Exportation, 50, Tabernacle-walk, Finsbury-square.
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- LESSWARE, H., Coppersmith, Brazier, and Worm Maker, 24, Great Alie-street, Whitechapel.
- LEVICK, (Brothers), Merchants, 9, King's Arms-yard, Coleman-street.
- LEVY, A., Merchant and Warehouseman, 103, Minories, and George-street, Sydney, New South Wales.
- LEVY, J., Wholesale and Export Stationer, Account Book and Envelope Manufacturer, 94, Houndsditch.
- LIVERMORE & CO., Makers of the New Metallic Overcoats, Capes, &c., warranted perfectly free from smell, Waterproofers, & India Rubber Manufacturers, 30, Oxford-st.
- LOCK & CO., Dentists, guarantee to cure the Toothache instantly, by Smoke, 363, Oxford-street.
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- LONG, JOSEPH, Hydrometer and Saccharometer Manufacturer, and Patentee of the Curvilinear Power, as adapted to Steering Apparatuses for ships of every tonnage, 20, Little Tower-street, City.
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- LOUGH, LEWIS & CO., Gum, Drug, Drysaltery, and Colonial Merchants, 20A, Great St. Helen's.
- MCGLASHAN & FIELD, Manufacturers of every description of Machinery, Wholesale Brass Cock Foundry, Copper-smiths and Braziers, 16, Long-acre, and 19, Hart-street, Covent-garden.
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- MAGNAY & BENNETT, Wholesale and Export Stationers, Thames-street.
- MAGNUS, G. E., Inventor and Patentee of Enamelled Slate Chimney-pieces, Inlaid Table and Workstand Tops, Mural Tablets and Monuments, Patentee and Manufacturer to Prince Albert and the Duke of Wellington, &c., of Slate Billiard Tables, with Slate Frame and Legs, Vendor of every description of Slate, plain and ornamental, 39 and 40, Upper Belgrave-place, Pimlico.
- MAGNUS, N., Wholesale and Export Boot, Shoe, and Leather Manufacturer, 13, Fore-street, Cripplegate.
- MANDER, C., Electro-Plater, &c., 14, Queen-st., Clerkenwell.
- MAGGS, OLIVER, & CO., Flax and Tow Spinners, Shoe Thread, Sail Cloth, Wool Bag, Sacking, and Twine Manufacturers, 22, Laurence-lane, Cheapside, and Bourton Factory, Wincanton, Somerset.
- MANKTELOW & CO., Patent Pianoforte Manufacturers, wholesale, retail, and for exportation, 432, Oxford-street, and 12, Hantly-street, Bedford-square.
- MAPLE, J., Wholesale and Retail Cabinet Manufacturer, and General House Furnishing Warehouseman, 145, 146, and 147, Tottenham-court-road.
- MARR, W., Electro-Plater, 6, Albemarle-street, Clerkenwell.
- MARKS, A., Wholesale and Export Spring, Folding, and Paris Hat Manufacturer, 5, Houndsditch.
- MARDEN, JOSEPH, Manufacturer of Ladies' and Gentlemen's Dressing Cases, Razor Boxes, Portable Writing Desks, Tool and Plate Chests, Pattern Cards, Bowie Knife Sheaths, Cutlery, and Jewel Cases, 8, Westfield-terrace, Sheffield.
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- MARTIN, R., Cork Manufacturer, Importer of French and Spanish Corks, Corks in Bond for exportation, 20, Swan-st., Minories, and 16, John-st., Crutched-friars.
- MASTERS, T., Patentee of the Freezing Machines and Wine Coolers, Aerated Water Machines, Rotary Knife-cleaning Machines, Anti-Corrosive Self-Closing Taps, Cooking Apparatus, &c., 309, Regent-st., and 333, Oxford-st.
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- MATHEWS, I., Slipper Manufacturer, wholesale and for exportation, 4, Old Montague-st., Brick-ln., Whitechapel.
- MAUDSLAY, SONS, & FIELD, Engineers, Cheltenham-place, Lambeth.
- MAUGHLING, J. S., Shipping Butcher, 14, New-road, St. George's-in-the-East.
- MAYES, J., Clock Manufacturer and Dealer in Clock Tools and Materials, 19, St. John's-square, Clerkenwell.
- MAYHEW & CO., Hat and Cap Manufacturers, 89, New Bond-street, Manufactory, Union-street, Southwark.
- MEASAM & CO., Medicated Cream Soap and Regenerative Carpet Soap Manufacturers, Patent Metal Seal Envelope, Note, and Letter Paper Makers, and General Stationers, 238, Strand, and 4, Castle-street, Holborn.
- MEDHURST, T., Manufacturer of Patent Weighing Machines, Scales and Weights, Ironfounder, and Engineer, 465, New Oxford-street.
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- MERRICK, R., Dressing and Jewellery Case, Writing and Travelling Desk Manufacturer, 57, Red Lion-street, Clerkenwell.
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- MORRIS, Mr., 3, York Buildings, Bermondsey New Road.
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- MOSES, SON, & DAVIS, Merchants, Wholesale Clothiers, General Exporters, & Agents for the Sale of Colonial Produce, 14 & 15, Aldgate, High-street.

- MOSS, R., & Co., East London Plate and Sheet-Glass Company, Wholesale Manufacturers and Exporters of Looking-Glasses, 45, Leman-street, Goodman's-fields.
- MOUTRIE, W. F. C., Patent Pianoforte Manufacturer on his Newly Registered Designs, 4, King-street, Bloomsbury.
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- NEAL, T., Steel Corn and Coffee Mill Maker, 45, St. John-street, Smithfield.
- NEGRETTE, H. Manufacturer of Glass Chemical Apparatus, 11, Hatton-garden.
- NEVETT, G., Pump, Water Closet, Cock, and Beer Engine Manufacturer, Gas Fitter, and General Brass Finisher, 10½, Hampstead-road.
- NEWNHAM, H., Export Ship Biscuit and Bread Baker, 24, King-street, Tower-hill.
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- NEWTON, J., & SON, Wholesale and Export Cork Manufacturers, 50 and 51, St. John-street, Smithfield.
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- NICHOLS, WILLIAM, Wholesale Boot and Shoe Warehouse, 136, St. John-street, West Smithfield—manufactory at Raunds, Northamptonshire.
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- NOWELL, W. H., Wholesale and Export Brush and Painting-Brush Manufacturer, 7, Brick-lane, Whitechapel.
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- OLIVER & EDWARDS, Watch Case Manufacturers, 19, Galway-street, St. Luke's.
- ORGAN, W., Wholesale Saddler, Stafford-street, Walsall.
- OSBORN, Mr., Albion-school, York.
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- PAGET, R. G., Marquee and Tent Manufacturer, 40, West Smithfield.
- PAINE, WILLIAM, Manufacturer of Brass and Plated Coach Harness Furniture, Bits, Stirrups, &c., Windmill, Walsall.
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- PARKER, FIELD, & SONS, Gun Makers to the Board of Ordnance, the East India, and Hudson's Bay Companies, 233, High Holborn.
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- PARNELL & BANNER, Ship and Insurance Brokers, 57, Gracechurch-street.
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- PHILLIPS, RICHARD, Upholsterer, &c., 5, Marylebone-street, St. James's.
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- PIGGOTT, W., Army Clothier and Marquee Manufacturer, &c., 115, Fore-street.
- PIGGOTT, W. P., Patentee of the Galvanic Belt, by which a continuous current of electricity is made to circulate through the body, preventing rheumatism, sciatica, tic doloieux, hysterics, dyspepsia, and lowness of spirits; improved Telescope Office, 523, New Oxford-st.
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- PITMAN, W., Wine Merchant, 150, Fenchurch-street.
- PITT, W., Wireworker, 15, Weymouth-place, New Kent-rd.
- PIZZALA, A., Wholesale and Export Optician, 19, Hatton-Garden.
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- PORTER, R., Merchant, 22, East India Chambers.
- POWER, D. E., Merchant, 110, Fenchurch-street.
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- PRINCE & WHITEHOUSE, Ironfounders, Phoenix Ironfoundry, Grove, Great Guildford-st., Southwark.
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- QUINCEY, HARCOURT, Birmingham and Sheffield Agent for all descriptions of Export Ironmongery; Agent for Timothy Smith and Sons, Birmingham, Cabinet Brass Founders and Manufacturers of Lamp Chandeliers and Gas Work; for Martineau and Smith, Birmingham, Manufacturers of Patent and other Cocks, Bells, &c.; also Agent for Patent Steaming Apparatus for extracting Tallow from Animal Carcasses; Screw and Hydraulic Wool Presses, Wrought Iron Lighters and

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- RATCLIFFE, J., China, Glass, and Staffordshire Warehouse, shipping supplied on the lowest terms, 3, Heath-place, Commercial-road East.
- READ, R., Instrument Maker, (by special appointment), to Her Majesty and the Hon. East India Company, Patentee of the Stomach Pump, Enema Fountain, &c., &c., 35, Regent-circus, Piccadilly.
- RICHARDSON, —, Esq., Clifton.
- RICHARDSON & Co., Patentees of Lockhead's Perforated Glass Scuttle for Ship Ventilation, and Perforated Glass Ventilators for Houses and other buildings, 35, Royal Exchange, and 473, New Oxford-street.
- RICHARDSON, E., Ship and Insurance Agent, 254, High-street, Wapping.
- RICHARDSON, R., Portable House, Marquee, Rick Cloth, and Wire Fence Maker, 21, Tonbridge-place, New-road.
- RIDGWAY, S. R., Esq., Magdalen House, Exeter.
- RIDSDALE, J. & A., Ship's Brass Founders, General Manufacturers, Lamp Makers, and Gas Fitters, 54, Minories.
- RILEY, W. C., & Co., Provision Merchants and Dealers in Bonded Stores, 189, St. George's-st., St. George's, East.
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- ROBERTS, J., Importer of Colonial Produce, 31, Barbican.
- ROBINSON, J., & Co., Outfitters, 3 and 6, Nassau-place, Commercial-road, East.
- RODDY, R., Linen Manufacturer, Donegal-street, Belfast.
- ROGERS, —, Esq., North-street, Leeds.
- ROGERS, D., Pianoforte Maker, Tuner, and Selecter, St. James's-place, Hampstead-road.
- ROGERS, H., Pianoforte Manufacturer, 63, Warren-street, Fitzroy-square.
- RODGERS & CLEGG, Manufacturers of Pen and Pocket Knives, Bowie Knives, Razors, &c., Earl Works, 20, Earl-street, Sheffield.
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- ROSE, WILLIAM A., Railway Grease, Oil, Lead, Colour, and Varnish Manufacturer—White Zinc Paint—66, Upper Thames-street, 23, Queenhithe, and Bull-wharf, London.
- ROSENTHAL, L. J., Professor of Languages, near the Pantheon, 355, Oxford-st.
- ROSBLOOM, J., Boot, Shoe, Cap, and Carpet Bag Manufacturer, Wholesale and for Exportation, 5, 6, and 15, Devonshire-street, Bishopsgate-street, City.
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- ROXBROUGH, W. (Established 1730), Shipping and General Stationer, Manufacturer of Patent Ledgers, and other Account-books, 9, Aldgate, City.
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- RUNDLE, R., Esq., Devonport.
- RUSSELL, J. & Co., Manufacturers of Patent Gas Tubes and Fittings, and Lapwelded Tubes for Locomotive and Marine Boilers, also Manufacturers of Sheet Iron, 69, Upper Thames-st.; Works at Wednesbury, Staffordshire.
- SAMUEL, H. S., Colonial Broker, 133, Fenchurch-street.
- SANDEMAN, A., East India Agent, 8, Old Jewry, Cheapside.
- SANDERS, C., Gold Refiner, St. John's-square, Clerkenwell.
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continuing their work." Their dissatisfaction was increased by the miserable artifice of Tippoo, who, desirous of assuming before his own troops a defiant attitude, although really a suitor for peace, gave secret orders to fire on the English soldiery, both with cannon and musketry. Under such circumstances, it needed all the weight of the public and private character of Lord Cornwallis, to enforce the admirable precept with which the general orders to the victorious troops concluded,—“that moderation in success is no less expected from brave men than gallantry in action.” In acknowledgment of their excellent conduct, a donation, equal to twelve months’ *batta*, was awarded them, out of the money exacted from the sultan. The disinterestedness of the commander-in-chief and of General Medows was displayed in their refusal to accept any portion of this sum, or of the prize-money. Their cordial co-operation and perfect confidence in each other’s zeal and integrity, had been conspicuous throughout the war, forming a pleasing contrast to the divided counsels and personal quarrels which had, of late years, diminished the efficiency of the military and civil services of the officers of the company. This unanimity enabled Lord Cornwallis to take full advantage of the influence he possessed over the Nizam and the Mahrattas. Their mutual distrust, combined with the respect inspired by the English commander-in-chief, led them to entrust to him the sole control of the late operations. These were no sooner terminated by the treaty of Seringapatam, than occasions of quarrel reappeared among the allies. The Nizam, by far the weakest of the three powers, petitioned to be allowed to retain the services of a British detachment. His request was granted, greatly to the annoyance of the Mahrattas, whose discontent at finding him thus favoured, was aggravated by the refusal of Lord Cornwallis to suffer a similar stipendiary force to be permanently annexed to the army of the peishwa, or rather of his ambitious guardian, Nana Furnavees. In this case the concession

must have provoked immediate hostilities with Mahadajee Sindia, since it was to oppose his large and formidable corps of regular artillery (under De Boigne* and other European officers), that the services of an English detachment were especially desired. Such a procedure would have been inconsistent with the pacific policy by which it was both the duty and inclination of Lord Cornwallis to abide; and Sindia was therefore suffered to retain, without interference on the part of the only enemy he feared, the dominant position which the time-serving policy of Hastings had first helped him to assume, as vicegerent of the Mogul empire. His power, before reaching its present height, had received a severe check, from the efforts of other ambitious chiefs to obtain possession of the person, and wield authority in the name, of the hapless Shah Alum,† who, from the time of the death of his brave general, Nujeeff Khan, in 1782, had been tossed about, like a child’s toy, from one usurper to another—a tool during their prosperity, a scape-goat in adversity. Sindia became paramount in 1785; but having engaged in war with Pertab Sing of Jey-poor, advantage was taken of his absence by Gholam Kadir Khan, the son of Zabita Khan, the Rohilla, to gain possession of Delhi in 1788. This he accomplished through the treachery of the *nazir* or chief eunuch, to whom the management of the imperial establishment was entrusted. The inmates of the palace were treated by the usurper with a degree of malicious barbarity which it is hardly possible to conceive any human being evincing towards his unoffending fellow-creatures, unless actually possessed by an evil spirit. After cruelties of all descriptions had been practised to extort from the members and retainers of the imperial family every article of value which still remained in their possession, Gholam Kadir continued to withhold from them even the necessaries of life, so that several ladies perished of hunger; and others, maddened by suffering, committed suicide. The royal children‡ were compelled to

* De Boigne was a Savoyard by birth, and had been an ensign in the service of the E. I. Cy.

† Among the few who faithfully adhered to the cause of Shah Alum, was the widow of the notorious Sumroo, who had entered the imperial service, or rather that of Nujeeff Khan, after quitting Oude, and married the daughter of an impoverished Mogul noble. The “Begum Sumroo” received Christian baptism, at the request of her husband. After his death, in 1778, she was suffered to retain the jaghire

granted to him for the support of five battalions of disciplined sepoy and about 200 Europeans, chiefly artillerymen, whose movements she directed from her palanquin, even on the actual field of battle. An imprudent marriage with a German, named Vaissaux, for a time endangered her influence; but after his seizure by the mutinous troops, and death by his own hand, she regained her authority.

‡ The Shahzada, Prince Jewan Bukht, had taken refuge at Benares. Lord Cornwallis granted him a

perform the most humiliating offices; and when Shah Alum indignantly remonstrated against the atrocities he was compelled to witness, the Rohilla sprang upon him with the fury of a wild beast, flung the venerable monarch to the ground, knelt on his breast, and, with his dagger, pierced his eye-balls through and through. The return of Sindia terminated these horrible scenes. Gholam Kadir took to flight, but was captured by the Mahratta chief, who cut off his nose, ears, hands, and feet, and sent him in an iron cage to Shah Alum—a fearful example of retributive barbarity. He perished on the road, and his accomplice, the treacherous nazir, was trodden to death by an elephant. The condition of the imperial family, though ameliorated, remained barely tolerable during the supremacy of Sindia; for the stated allowance for the support of the emperor and his thirty children, though liberal in its nominal amount, was so irregularly paid, that the royal household often wanted the necessaries of life.

The arrogance of Mahadajee increased with his power,* and not only the Nizam and the Poona ministry headed by Nana Furnavees, but even the English, began to contemplate an approaching struggle as inevitable; when their apprehensions were unexpectedly removed by his death, of fever, in February, 1794, aged sixty-seven. He left no male issue, but bequeathed his extensive territorial possessions to his great-nephew and adopted son, Dowlut Rao, then a youth of fifteen.

The administration of Lord Cornwallis ended in the preceding year; its concluding feature being the capture, once again, of Pondicherry and all the French settlements in India, in consequence of the national

yearly stipend of four lacs (promised, but not paid, by the vizier of Oude), which, after the death of the prince, was continued to his family by the E. I. Cy.

* What a blow would have been inflicted on the pride and bigotry of Aurungzebe, could it have been foretold that one of his dynasty would be compelled, by a Mahratta, to sign a decree forbidding the slaughter of kine throughout the Mogal dominions. Yet this was enforced by Sindia on Shah Alum.

† In the year ending April, 1793, the receipts of the company in India amounted to £8,225,628; the total expenses to £7,007,050: leaving a surplus of £1,218,578 clear gain. In the outgoings, were included the interest of Indian debts (the principal of which amounted to £7,971,665), and money supplied to Bencoolen and other distant settlements; making a drawback of £702,443. The debts in England, exclusive of the capital stock, were £10,983,518. The capital stock had been increased

declaration of war. The charter of the E. I. Cy. was at the same time (1793) renewed for a term of twenty years.† Arrangements were made for the relief of the financial difficulties of Mobammed Ali. The management of the revenues of the Carnatic, which had been temporarily assumed by Lord Cornwallis during the war, was partially restored to the nabob at its conclusion, and the payments to his creditors reduced from the twelve lacs of pagodas (conceded to them most improperly by the Board of Control in 1785), to somewhat more than six lacs. Attempts were likewise made, but with little success, to induce the profligate Asuf-ad-Dowlah to adopt reformatory measures, to stay the ruin which seemed about to overwhelm the fair province, or rather kingdom, of Oude.

ADMINISTRATION OF SIR JOHN SHORE.—This gentleman (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) had been many years in the service of the company, and was selected for the high post of governor-general,‡ expressly on account of the ability and perseverance which he had brought to bear on the intricate and little understood question of Indian revenue. His pacific disposition was likewise viewed as affording a guarantee for the fulfilment of the strict injunctions of the British parliament—to shun every description of aggressive warfare on behalf of the company, whether in the character of a principal or an ally. Upon the death of Mahadajee Sindia, preparations for hostilities against the Nizam were carried on by his young successor, Dowlut Rao Sindia, with the co-operation of the Poona authorities and all the leading Mahratta chieftains.§ The attempts of Sir John Shore at friendly mediation were treated with insulting indifference by the Mahrattas, so soon as they

in 1789, from four to five million, on which sum a dividend of ten-and-a-half per cent. was now paid.

‡ General Medows had been offered the position on the expected resignation of Lord Cornwallis; but he declined it, declaring his intention of staying in India just long enough “to lead the storming party at Seringapatam, or until the war is over;” and no longer. He adds, that he had saved £10,000 out of the liberal appointments of the company, and should feel amply compensated if they pronounced “the labourer worthy of his hire.”—(Auber’s *India*, ii., 121.)

§ Tookajee Holcar and the rajah of Berar, with the representative of the Puar and other influential families, took the field; while the Guicowars from Guzerat, and others, sent detachments to join the general assembly of Mahrattas, gathered together for the last time under the nominal authority of the peishwa, Madhoo Rao II., who was himself completely controlled by Nana Furnavees.—(Duff, iii., 111.)

perceived his determination of preserving a strict neutrality. The Nizam advanced to Beder, where the enemy hastened to give him battle. After an indecisive action, he retreated by night to Kurdla, a small fort surrounded by hills. He was besieged, closely blockaded, and compelled to purchase peace by the most ignominious concessions, which, if carried out, would have completely crippled his resources, and left him at the mercy of his old foe, Nana Furnavees. But at this crisis the "Mahiratta Machiavelli" overreached himself. The severity and excess of his precautionary measures wrought upon the high spirit of the young peishwa (then one-and-twenty years of age) with unexpected violence, and, in a moment of deep depression, caused by the indignity to which he was subjected, he flung himself from a terrace of the palace, and expired in the course of two days, after expressing a strong desire that his cousin, Bajee Rao, should succeed to the authority of which he had been defrauded.* This arrangement would have been generally popular; for Bajee Rao, then about twenty years of age, bore a high character for skill in manly and military exercises, and was besides deeply read in ancient Brahminical lore, and a studious follower of the intricate observances of caste. Beneath this fair surface lay, as Nana Furnavees truly declared, the weakness of his father Ragoba, and the wickedness of his mother Anundee Bye, as yet undeveloped.

The talents of Bajee Rao, even had they been likely to be used for good instead of for evil, would probably have been equally opposed to the views of the minister, who wanted a mere puppet to occupy the musnud on public occasions, and then return to his gilded prison. With this intent he caused the widow of the late Madhoo Rao II. (herself a mere child) to adopt an infant, whom he proclaimed peishwa. Sindia espoused the cause of Bajee Rao, and the dissensions which followed enabled Nizam Ali to procure a release from three-fourths of the cessions and payments stipulated for by the treaty of Kurdla.

The remaining events during the administration of Sir John Shore may be briefly

* Bajee Rao had endeavoured to open a secret intercourse with Madhoo Rao, which being discovered by Nana Furnavees, drew severe reproaches and more strict surveillance on both cousins.—(Duff.)

† In this year the Calcutta bench, and orientalists in general, sustained a heavy loss in the death of the upright judge and distinguished scholar, Sir William

noted. Fyzoolla Khan, the Rohilla ruler of Rampore and its dependent districts, died in 1794.† His eldest son, Mohammed Ali, succeeded to the government, but was seized and murdered by his younger brother, Gholam Mohammed Khan, who was in turn deposed by the conjoined troops of the English and the vizier. A jaghire of ten laes of revenue was conferred on Ahmed Ali, the youthful son of the murdered ruler; provision was made for the maintenance of Gholam Mohammed, who came to reside at Benares, under the protection of the British government; and the treasures and remaining territory of the late Fyzoolla Khan, were delivered up to the wasteful and profligate Asuf-ad-Dowlah.

Mohammed Ali, of Arcot, died in 1795, aged seventy-eight, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Omdut-al-Omrah. In the same year the English effected the complete reduction of the Dutch settlements in Ceylon, Malacca, Banda, Amboyna, Cochin, and the Cape of Good Hope.‡ Asuf-ad-Dowlah died in 1797. A dispute concerning the succession arose between his brother Sadut Ali, and his alleged son Vizier Ali, a youth of seventeen, said to be of spurious descent.§ Sir John Shore eventually decided in favour of the former, with whom he entered into a new treaty, by which the fort of Allahabad was made over to the English, the annual subsidy increased to seventy-six laes of rupees, twelve laes guaranteed by the vizier as compensation money for the expenses incurred in the recent interference, and an annual pension of a lac and a-half of rupees settled on Vizier Ali, beside other arrangements regarding the support of the company's troops, deemed necessary for the defence of Oude.

In the beginning of 1798, the governor-general, who had been raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Teignmouth, resigned his position on account of ill-health, and returned to England. Despite his high character as a financier, the pecuniary results of his four years' sway were disastrous, and the scourge of war was but temporarily delayed. Tippoo evidently waited an opportunity to renew hostilities; and the expensive preparations made to invade Mysoor, in Jones, aged forty-eight. He was the first president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Warren Hastings the patron, and Charles Wilkins a member.

‡ These conquests were mainly effected through the zeal of Lord Hobart, governor of Madras.

§ On inquiry, it appeared that the alleged children of Asuf-ad-Dowlah were all supposititious.

the event of his taking part with the Dutch, together with the requirements of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay, obliged the supreme government, in 1796, to open the treasury for a loan bearing twelve per cent. interest. In the following year, increasing involvements compelled a considerable reduction in the investments—a step never taken, it will be recollected, except under the stern pressure of necessity.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD MORNINGTON (MARQUIS WELLESLEY).—An impending war with Mysoor, intricate political relations based on the temporary interest of other native powers, an exhausted treasury, and an increasing debt,—such were the difficulties that awaited the successor of Lord Teignmouth. After some delay, the choice—happily for England and for India—fell upon a nobleman no less distinguished for decision of purpose than for deliberation and forethought in counsel, gifted with a mind alike capable of grasping the grandest plans, and of entering into the minute details so important to good government. Lord Mornington was but seven-and-thirty when he was selected for the arduous office of exercising almost irresponsible authority over British India; but he had been early called to play an important part in public life, and had, from circumstances, been led to regard Indian affairs with peculiar interest, even before his appointment as one of the six commissioners of the Board of Control,

* The Earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquis Wellesley) was descended from an ancient family, whose founders went over to Ireland with Strongbow, and held (on the tenure of bearing the royal standard "*quando opus fuerit*") the castle and manor of Dangan, in the county Meath, where the future governor-general of India was born in 1760. The name of his father fills an honoured place in the musical annals of England, as the composer of some of the finest chants and glees in the language: his mother, the Countess of Mornington, was highly gifted both in person and in intellect, and especially remarkable for force of character, which she retained unimpaired even to advanced age, and transmitted to at least three of her sons—the subject of this notice, "the Iron Duke," and Baron Cowley. The death of Lord Mornington, in 1781, arrested the college studies of his young successor, and called him when scarcely of age, to relinquish the classic pursuits by which he might else have become too exclusively engrossed, for the severer duties of public life. Close intimacy with the Cornwallis family, doubtless contributed to direct his attention to Indian affairs; and the influence of the Eton holidays regularly passed with Archbishop Cornwallis at Lambeth Palace, from 1771 to 1779, had probably its effect in producing, or at least strengthening the love of justice and high sense of honour for which the young lord became distinguished, as well as in im-

in 1793.* In this position he continued for the ensuing five years, attending sedulously to its duties, and availing himself to the utmost of the opportunities it afforded of becoming intimately acquainted with the condition of the E. I. Cy., the mode of government adopted in the three presidencies, and the position and history of neighbouring powers. The subject was, to the highest degree, attractive to a statesman who considered that "the majesty of Great Britain was her trade, and the throne of the commerce of the world the fittest object of her ambition." The able and indefatigable, but prejudiced historian of India, was probably but imperfectly acquainted with the character and antecedents of Lord Mornington, when he remarked that he came out as a war-governor: still less ground existed for the assertion, that his lordship had "possessed but little time for acquainting himself with the complicated affairs of India, when all his attention was attracted to a particular point."† The remarkable letter, addressed to Lord Melville from the Cape of Good Hope, in 1798,‡ abundantly attests the extraordinary amount of information already accumulated by the writer, as well as the profound and far-sighted views which he had been enabled to form therefrom. The mental qualifications of Lord Mornington were rendered generally attractive by the dignified and courteous bearing, and the sweet, yet powerful utterance

planting the deep and clear views of religion which formed the solace of his honoured age. His first care was the voluntary liquidation of his father's debts; the next, a most liberal provision for the education of his brothers and sisters, especially for that of Arthur, whose capacities he early appreciated. A brilliant career in the Irish House of Parliament, was speedily followed and surpassed by his success as an orator in the British House of Commons, where, strangely enough, his first speech was in reprobation of the conduct of Lord North in making Warren Hastings governor-general of India, after his unprincipled conduct regarding the Rohillas. The opinions delivered by him on the questions of war with the French republic, the disputes regarding the regency, the abolition of the Irish parliament, and Catholic emancipation, have their page in history; but none occupy a higher place in the memory of those who cherish the name of the Marquis Wellesley, than his unwavering and indignant denunciation of the slave-trade, which he declared to be an "abominable, infamous, and bloody traffic," the continuance of which it was a disgrace to Great Britain to sanction, even for an hour. (*Vide* Debate on motion of Mr. Dundas for gradual abolition, April, 1792.)

† Mill's *India*; edited by Prof. Wilson, vi., 73.

‡ *Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquis Wellesley*; edited by R. Montgomery Martin, i., 1—15. Murray: London, 1836.

which enhanced the effect of his rare eloquence. His small but perfectly symmetrical figure, formed a worthy model for the chisels of Bacon and Chantry; while the easel of Lawrence rendered the delicate but clearly defined outline of the nose and mouth, the soft, gazelle-like* eyes and dark arched brows, in contrast with the silver locks which clustered round his lofty forehead—scarcely less publicly known, in his own time, than the remarkable profile and eagle-eye of his younger brother are at present.

On his arrival in Madras, in April, 1798, Lord Mornington was accompanied by his younger brother Henry, afterwards Lord Cowley, in the capacity of private secretary. The future duke, then Lt.-Col. Wellesley, with his regiment (the 33rd), had been already some months in India. After a brief stay at Madras (of which presidency Lord Clive, the son of the hero of Arcot, was appointed governor), Lord Mornington proceeded to Calcutta, and commenced a series of civil reforms; but his attention was speedily arrested by the intrigues of Tippoo and some French adventurers, who, though in themselves of small importance, might, he well knew, at any moment give place to, or acquire the rank of powerfully supported representatives of their nation. In fact, schemes to that effect were in process of development; though the success of the British by sea and land, the victories of Nelson on the Nile, and that of Acre by Sir Sidney Smith, in conjunction with Lord Mornington's own measures, eventually prevented Buonaparte from putting into execution his cherished plan of wresting from England her growing Indian empire. The republican general and his great adversaries, the brothers Wellesley, had a long series of diplomatic hostilities to wage in distant hemispheres, before the last fierce struggle which convulsed the European continent with the death-throes of the usurped authority of the citizen emperor! Their battle-fields and council-chambers, as yet, lay wide apart; but the letters of Buonaparte to Tippoo Sultan and to Zemaun Shah, the successor of the fierce Doorani conqueror of Paniput, who had threatened to renew the incursions of his grandsire in Hindoostan, served to convey an impression to the

native princes that a European power did exist, eagerly waiting its opportunity to fight the English with their own weapons. So strongly impressed was Tippoo with this conviction, that he sent ambassadors to the French governor of the Mauritius (M. Maltart), with proposals for an offensive and defensive alliance against their mutual rival, offering to bear the whole expenses of the French auxiliary force to be sent to his assistance, and to furnish them with every accustomed allowance except wine and spirits, with which he declared himself entirely unprovided. The truth was, that Tippoo, in laudable conformity with the ordinance of his standard of action, the Koran, forbade his subjects to use any description of intoxicating plants or beverages; and, as far as possible, caused the white poppy and the hemp-plant to be destroyed even in private gardens. Those only who, like Colonel Tod and other travelled historians, have had the opportunity of searching out for themselves authentic records illustrative of the condition of the people of India at different epochs, can fully appreciate the political importance of this measure, and its probable effect in tending to stay the moral and physical degradation which the abuse of all intoxicating compounds never fails to produce, especially of that valuable medicine, but when misused, detestable drug, opium.

The offer of the sultan was warmly welcomed by the French governor, and a small detachment† of volunteers sent to Malabar, and received as an earnest of further assistance. Lord Mornington addressed repeated remonstrances to Tippoo respecting this notorious breach of faith; and received, in return, the same empty professions of good-will which had been previously made to Lord Cornwallis. There was but one course to be taken with a man who met all arguments regarding the hostile operations in which he was engaged by positive denial or wilful silence; and the governor-general, despite the exhausted treasury and financial involvements which even a peace-governor had been unable to avoid, now found himself compelled to prepare for the renewal of war. He proceeded to Madras, where, by infusing his own spirit into this heretofore venal and incapable presidency, he procured

* This expression may savour of exaggeration or affectation to persons unacquainted with Lord Wellesley. Those who have watched him while speaking on subjects which touched his feelings, will, on the contrary, consider the comparison a poor compliment

to eyes gifted with the power of reflecting every varying phase of thought and feeling, but ever tender and gazelle-like in repose.

† About 150; composed of convicted criminals and the refuse of the rabble of the island.—(*Despatches.*)

the adoption of measures for the complete equipment of the armies on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. The conduct of Nizam Ali, the subahdar of the Deccan, afforded much ground for uneasiness. The refusal of Sir John Shore to suffer the English subsidiary detachment to fight against the Mahrattas, had induced him to raise a large corps, trained and officered by French adventurers, under the immediate superintendence of a M. Raymond, who was justly suspected of being in communication with Tippoo. Lord Mornington felt that the course of events might render this body a nucleus for all powers and persons jealous or envious of British supremacy. He therefore hastened to make overtures for a closer alliance with the Nizam; and on the 1st of September, a new treaty was concluded, by which the subsidiary detachment in his service was increased from two to six battalions, and the E. I. Cy. became pledged for his protection against any unjust demands on the part of the Mahrattas. The Nizam consented to the immediate disbandment of Raymond's corps, and the surrender of their officers as prisoners of war; but as he manifested some hesitation regarding the fulfilment of these stipulations, the French cantonments were unexpectedly surrounded by the whole English force, in conjunction with a body of the Hyderabad cavalry. The men, already disaffected,* upon a promise of continued employment and the payment of arrears, laid down their weapons; the officers were quietly arrested, and, in a few hours, 14,000 men, possessing a train of artillery and a well-supplied arsenal, were completely disarmed and disorganised. The private property and arrears due to the officers were carefully secured to them by the governor-general, and arrangements made for their honourable treatment and speedy transport to their own country.

The primary importance of neutralising the danger of French influence at the court of the Nizam, did not blind Lord Mornington to the advisability of avoiding hostilities with the Mahrattas. The supremacy of

Nana Furnavees and his baby peishwa, had given place to that of Sindia and Bajee Rao, with whom Nana had become partially reconciled; and through his influence, a pledge of co-operation, in the event of a war with Mysoor, was given by them, but apparently with the most treacherous intent.

These precautionary measures concluded, Lord Mornington felt himself in a position to bring matters to an issue. The "violent and faithless"† character of the sultan, rendered it necessary to take summary steps for the reduction of his power and arrogance, which had again become alarming. The abandonment of his French connexions was at first all that was desired; but the expense of military preparations having been incurred—the cession of the maritime province of Canara, with other territory and a large sum of money, the establishment of accredited residents on the part of the E. I. Cy. and their allies at his capital, and the expulsion of all Frenchmen from his service and dominions, were now demanded. Tippoo resorted to his old plan of evasion, hoping to procrastinate until the season for attacking Seringapatam should be past; and when hard driven, wrote a tardy consent to receive an English envoy to negotiate terms of more intimate alliance with that nation, while, at the same time, in his capacity of citizen and wearer of the red cap of liberty, he dispatched an embassy to the French Directory, soliciting speedy assistance "to attack and annihilate for ever our common enemies."‡

As on a previous occasion, his duplicity was met by a declaration of war; and on the 5th of March, the British force, under General (afterwards Lord) Harris, and that of the Nizam under his son Meer Alum, entered the Mysoor territory, with the intent of marching directly upon the capital. Lord Mornington truly declared, "that an army more completely appointed, more amply and liberally supplied in every department, or more perfect in its discipline and in the acknowledged experience, ability, and zeal of its officers, never took the field in India."§ The very abundance of the equipments of the invaders formed, in some sort, an im-

* M. Raymond, a man of considerable talent, died a few months before these events, and a struggle for ascendancy had induced disunion among the troops, who, it may be added, were avowed red republicans.

† Words of Lord Cornwallis.

‡ *Wellesley Despatches*, v., 15.

§ The army assembled at Vellore exceeded 20,000 men, including 2,635 cavalry, and 4,381 Europeans; to which was added the 6,500 men serving with the

Nizam, and a large body of Hyderabad cavalry. The army of the western coast, assembled at Cananore, under General Stuart, amounted to 6,420 men, of whom, 1,617 were Europeans; while a third corps, under Colonels Read and Brown, from the southern districts of the Carnatic, at once threatened the enemy in flank, and secured abundance of provisions to the main body of the invaders. A British fleet, under Admiral Rainier, lay off the coast.

pediment to their speedy progress; and this circumstance, together with the cumbersome baggage of the Nizam's troops, and the innumerable camp followers, tended to produce so much confusion, that the forces were repeatedly compelled to halt, and destroy a part of the mass of stores with which they were encumbered; until at length, the loss of powder, shot, and other military stores, became sufficiently considerable to excite alarm. Nearly the whole of the draught and carriage bullocks, comprising upwards of 60,000, died in the march to Seringapatam, although it was scarcely retarded a day by the opposition of the enemy. In the meantime, General Stuart, with the force from Bombay, had crossed the western frontier, and been attacked on the 6th of March, by the sultan with a superior force, near Periapatam. After a brisk action, in which the rajah of Coorg effectively seconded the English general by personal bravery and commissariat supplies,* Tippoo, being worsted, drew off his army, and hastened to meet the main body of the enemy under General Harris. This he accomplished near Malavelly, on the Madoor river, but was again defeated with heavy loss. His subsequent attempts to impede or harass the progress of the invaders, were frustrated by their unexpected changes of route; and he learned with dismay, that the battering train, with the last of the army, had actually crossed the Cauvery fifteen miles east of Seringapatam, while he was yet at a distance, keeping guard in an opposite direction,—an indubitable proof how greatly his system of intelligence fell short of that maintained by his father. Deeply disappointed, he summoned his chief officers to his presence. "We have arrived," he said, "at our last stage; what is your determination?" "To die with you," was the unanimous reply; and the assembly separated,

* The rajah of Coorg had collected 6,360,000 lbs. of rice, and 560,000 lbs. of grain, for the use of the troops; and his whole conduct during the present war, warranted praise equal to that awarded him on the previous occasion, of having been "the only ally who had performed all his obligations with fidelity, efficiency, and honour."—(*Mysoor*, iii., 247.) It is no disparagement to the acknowledged merits and peculiarly chivalrous character of the rajah, to add, that he had the deepest wrongs, both as regarded family and national relationship, to avenge upon the usurping dynasty. The reduction of Coorg had been at first effected by Hyder, through treacherous interference, during a contested succession. Of the two families, one was destroyed; the representative of the other (Veer Rajunder) escaped

after a tearful farewell, having resolved to intercept the expected passage of the English across the stream to the island on which Seringapatam is situated, and make death or victory the issue of a single battle. The equipments of the sultan were in order, and his troops well placed to contest the fords; but the advancing foe did not approach them, but took up a position on the south-western side of the fort, on the 5th of April, exactly one month after crossing the Mysoor frontier, having advanced at the rate of not seven miles a-day on hostile ground, and not five from the commencement of the march. The consequence of this unexpected tardiness, and of great loss of stores, was, that despite the extraordinary supplies assembled by the governor-general, it was ascertained, on the 18th of April, that but eighteen days' provision for the fighting men, at half allowance, remained in store.† The siege was of necessity carried on with the utmost diligence. The sultan made overtures for peace, but rejected the terms of the preliminary treaty now proposed—namely, the surrender of his remaining maritime territories, and of half his entire dominions, with the payment of two crore of sicca rupees, and the total renunciation of French auxiliaries. Every hour's delay rendered the position of the allies more critical; and on the 28th, when the sultan renewed his proposals for a conference, he was informed that no ambassadors would be received unless accompanied by four of his sons and four of his generals (including Seyed Ghofar) as hostages, with a crore of rupees, in token of sincerity.

No answer was returned. Tippoo's hereditary aversion to the English had been raised to the highest pitch by the representatives of the French adventurers about his person. Naturally sanguine, he had buoyed himself up with expectations of the arrival of succours direct from France, from Egypt, from the hands of Tippoo, and upon the outbreak of the previous war, hastened to join the English. Notwithstanding the ruthless manner in which the population and resources of his country had been treated, he was able, by his intelligence and activity, to aid materially the operations of the Bombay army. Mill, who is little inclined to bestow praise on Indian princes, speaks of him as possessing a remarkable "enlargement of mind, and displaying a generosity and a heroism worthy of a more civilised state of society."—(v., 453.) Col. Wilks narrates many actions which confirm this testimony. So, also, does Major Dirom's *Narrative*.

† There must have been, also, much disgraceful jobbery, the effects of which were happily neutralised by a public tender of 1,200 bullock-loads of rice.

or from the Mauritius; and when at length the progress of the siege drew from him a sincere attempt at negotiation, his haughty spirit could not brook the humiliating conditions named as the price of peace, and he suffered hostilities to proceed, comforting himself with the idea that Seringapatam was almost invincible; that the failure of supplies would probably even now compel the enemy to withdraw; and that, at the worst, "it was better to die like a soldier, than to live a miserable dependent on the infidels, in the list of their pensioned rajahs and nabobs." Despite the manliness of Tippoo's words, his deeds evinced a strange mixture of indecision and childish credulity. For years he had shown himself the bigoted and relentless persecutor of his Hindoo subjects; and so effectual had been his measures, that only two Brahminical temples remained open throughout his dominions. Yet now, those very Brahmins, whom he had compelled to violate the first rules of their creed, by fleshing their weapons on the bodies of sacred animals, were entreated to put up prayers on his behalf, and the *jebbum** was performed at great cost by the orders of a Mussulman sovereign, to whom all kinds of magical incantation were professedly forbidden, and who simultaneously put up earnest and reiterated prayers in the mosque, requesting thereto the fervent *amen* of his attendants. Then he betook himself to the astrologers, and from them received statements calculated to deepen the depression by which his mind was rapidly becoming unhinged. The evident progress of affairs might well furnish them with a clue to decypher the predictions of the stars, and a set of diagrams were gravely exhibited as warranting the conclusion, that so long as Mars should remain within a particular circle, the fort would hold out: he would touch the limit on the last day of the lunar month, the 4th of May; then it would be advisable to offer the oblations prescribed by law to deprecate an expected calamity. It is possible that the true movers in this singular scene may have been certain faithful servants of Tippoo Sultan, who, as the danger increased, beheld with grief his accustomed energy give place to a sort of despairing fatalism, alternating with bursts of forced gaiety, which were echoed

back by the parasites by whom he had become exclusively surrounded. Seyed Ghofar was one of the most zealous and able of the Mysorean commanders. Although wounded at an early period of the siege, he did not relax his exertions for the defence of the capital, or his efforts to awaken its master to action, despite the despairing exclamation—"He is surrounded by boys and flatterers, who will not even let him see with his own eyes. I do not wish to survive the result. I am going about in search of death, and cannot find it." On the 3rd of May, a practicable breach (100 feet wide) was effected. On the morning of the 4th, the sultan offered the oblation before arranged; and after an attempt to ascertain the aspect of his destiny by the reflection of his own face in a jar of oil, returned to his accustomed station on the fortifications. Seyed Ghofar, seeing the trenches unusually crowded, sent word that the attack was about to commence; but the courtiers persuaded their infatuated lord that the enemy would never dare the attempt by daylight; and he replied, that it was doubtless right to be on the alert, although the assault would certainly not be made except under cover of night.

Exeited by such mistaken security, the brave officer hastened towards the sultan. "I will go," said he, "and drag him to the breach, and make him see by what a set of wretches he is surrounded: I will compel him to exert himself at this last moment." The arrival of a party of pioneers, to cut off the approach of the foe by the southern rampart, induced him to delay his intention for the purpose of first giving them their instructions; and, while thus engaged, a cannon-ball struck him lifeless to the ground, and saved him from witnessing the realisation of his worst anticipations.

Tippoo was about commencing his noon-day repast, when he learned with dismay the fate of his brave servant. The meal was scarcely ended before tidings were brought of the actual assault, and he hastened to the breach along the northern rampart.

The leader of the storming party was Major-general Baird, who had, at his own request, been deputed to head the attack on the fortress, within whose walls he had been immured in irons for three years and a-half.† The hope of releasing captives treacherously detained, and of preventing such faithless outrages for the future, would, apart from less commendable feelings, have been suffi-

* See previous p. 357.

† Baird was taken prisoner with the survivors of Col. Baillie's detachment, and not released until 1784.

cient to excite to the utmost a less ardent temperament. Mounting the parapet of the breach, in view of both armies he drew his sword, and, in a voice which thrilled through every heart, called to the columns into which the assaulting force* had been divided, "to follow him and prove themselves worthy the name of British soldiers." A forlorn hope, composed of a sergeant and twelve men, led the van of either column, followed by two subaltern detachments, and were met on the slope of the breach by a small but resolute body of Mysoreans. Nearly the whole of the first combatants perished, but their place was rapidly supplied by the forces led by Baird; and in six minutes after the energetic call to arms, the British colours were planted on the summit of the breach. This important step accomplished, much danger and difficulty remained; for the traverses, especially along the northern rampart, were stronger than had been expected, and the sultan in person animated the exertions of his defenders. After much hard fighting, the British columns overcame all intermediate obstacles, and menaced Tippoo and his supporters both in front and rear. The confusion then became complete: the Mysoreans fled in various directions; some through a gateway in the rampart opening on the palace, some over the fortifications, and others by a water-gate leading to the river. The sultan, after long fighting on foot, being slightly wounded, was seen to mount his horse, but what he had next done, no one knew. It was conjectured that he had taken refuge within the palace; and the chief persons admitted to his confidence during the last few perilous days, alleged that obscure hints had escaped him of an intention to follow the ancient Indian custom, by putting to death the females of his family, destroying certain private papers, and then sallying forth to perish on the swords of his foes. According to instructions previously framed, Major Allan was deputed to proceed to the palace with a flag of truce, and offer protection to Tippoo and every one in it, on the proviso of immediate and unconditional surrender. The major laid aside his sword, in evidence of his peaceable intentions, and prevailed upon the attendants to conduct him and two brother officers to the presence

of the two eldest sons of Tippoo, from whom he with difficulty obtained warrant for the occupation of the palace, within which many hundred armed men were assembled; while, without the walls, a large body of troops were drawn up, with General Baird at their head. The fierce excitement of a hard-won field had been increased by the horrible and only too well authenticated information of the massacre of about thirteen Europeans taken during the siege;† yet the torrent of execration and invective was hushed in deep silence when the sons of the hated despot passed through the ranks as prisoners, on their way to the British camp. The royal apartments were searched, due care being taken to avoid inflicting any needless injury on the feelings of the ladies of the harem, by removing them to distinct rooms; but still the important question remained unanswered—what had become of the sultan?

At length it was discovered that private intelligence had reached the killedar, or chief officer in command, that Tippoo was lying under the arch of the gateway opening on the inner fort. General Baird proceeded to the spot, and searched a dense mass of dead and dying, but without success, until a Hindoo, styled Rajah Khan, who lay wounded near the palanquin of the sultan, pointed out the spot where his master had fallen. Tippoo had received two musket-balls in the side, when his horse being wounded sank under him. Rajah Khan, after vainly striving to carry him away, urged the necessity of disclosing his rank as the sole chance for his preservation. This Tippoo peremptorily forbade, and continued to lie prostrate from the loss of blood and fatigue, half-buried under a heap of his brave defenders, until an English soldier coming up to the spot, strove to seize the gold buckle of his sword-belt, upon which he partly raised himself, seized a sabre that lay beside him, and aimed a desperate blow at his assailant, who, in return, shot him through the temple.

Thus perished Tippoo Sultan, in the forty-seventh year of his age. The body, when eventually dragged forth, was found to have been rifled of every ornament except an amulet on the right arm, immediately below the shoulder. The head was un-

* Comprising 2,494 Europeans, and 1,882 natives.

† The fact was subsequently ascertained by exhuming the bodies. The rumour being in itself sufficiently probable, may palliate, but cannot justify,

the threats used by General Baird to the princes and others, who had surrendered on the faith of the assurances of Major Allan, to draw from them the whereabouts of Tippoo.—(Thornton's *India*, iii., 59.)

covered, and, despite the ball which had entered a little above the right ear and lodged in the cheek, and three wounds in the body, the stern dignity of the countenance,* its glowing complexion, the expression of the dark full eyes unclosed and surmounted by small arched eyebrows marred by no distortion, were altogether so lifelike, that the effect, heightened by the rich colouring of the waistband and shoulder-belt, almost deceived the bystanders; and Colonel Wellesley and Major Allan bent over the body by the uncertain and flickering glare of torch-light, and felt the pulse and heart, before being convinced that they were indeed looking on a corpse.† The remains were deposited beside those of Hyder Ali, in the superb mausoleum of Lâll Bang, with every ceremonial demanded by Mussulman usage. The minute-gun and other military honours, practised by Europeans, were paid by order of the commander-in-chief, a ceremonial which, however well intended, was misplaced. It would have been better taste to have suffered the bereaved family of the sultan, who had died in defence of his capital, to bury their dead, undisturbed by the presence of his triumphant foes. Terrific peals of thunder and lightning,‡ to an extent remarkable even in that tempestuous district, burst over the island of Seringapatam, and formed a fitting close to the funereal rites of the second and last representative of a brief but blood-stained dynasty. The prediction of Hyder was fulfilled: the empire he had won his son had lost, and with it life itself. The romantic circumstances attendant on the death of Tippoo may tend to throw a false halo over his character; but admiration for his personal bravery, or even better-grounded praise for his excellent

measure in striving to put down the use of intoxicating preparations, which had become a very curse to India, must not be permitted to disguise the fact that, with few exceptions, his career was one of blood and rapine, beside which that of Hyder appears just and compassionate.

Tippoo manifested remarkable industry in his endeavours to establish the reputation of a reformer; but the regulations framed for the government of his dominions, were enforced by penalties of so revolting a character, as alone to prove the lawgiver unfit to exercise authority over his fellow-men; equally so, whether these were prompted by diabolical wickedness, or the aberrations of a diseased intellect. "History," says Colonel Wilks, "exhibits no prior example of a code perverting all possible purposes of punishment as a public example, combining the terrors of death with cold-blooded irony, filthy ridicule, and obscene mutilation—the pranks of a monkey with the abominations of a monster."§ Such a despotism, based on usurpation and fraud, and exercised with unparalleled ferocity, Britain may well rejoice in having been permitted to abolish.

The total military establishment of Tippoo was estimated at about 100,000, including matchlockmen and peons (revenue officers or police); his field army at 47,470 effective troops. The granaries, arsenals, and magazines of all kinds in Seringapatam, were abundantly stored;|| but a very exaggerated idea had, as is commonly the case, been formed of the amount of his treasure in gold and jewels, the total value of which did not reach a million and a-half sterling, and was entirely appropriated by the conquering army. In acknowledgment of the energy and forethought displayed by the

* The sultan was about five feet ten inches in height, had a short neck and square shoulders; his limbs were slender, feet and hands remarkably small, and nose aquiline. His dress consisted of a jacket of fine white linen, loose drawers of flowered chintz, a crimson girdle, with a handsome pouch slung over his shoulder by a belt of red and green silk.

† This expression, says Col. Wilks, was noticed only by those who saw Tippoo for the first time; it wore off the more speedily owing to his excessive garrulity and harsh, inharmonious voice.

‡ Two officers and several privates were killed.

§ *History of Mysoor*, iii., 269.

|| On the 4th of May, there were in the fort 13,739 regular troops, and 8,100 outside and in the intrenchments, with 120 Frenchmen, under the command of a *chef de brigade*, M. Chapuis. In the assault, 8,000 Mysoreans were killed, including twenty-four principal officers killed and wounded, beside

numbers of inferior rank. The total loss of the British, during the siege, was twenty-two officers killed and forty-five wounded (twenty-five of these in the storming of the citadel); rank and file—*Europeans*, 181 killed, 622 wounded, twenty-two missing; *natives*, 119 killed, 420 wounded, and 100 missing. In the fort were found 929 pieces of ordnance (373 brass guns, sixty mortars, eleven howitzers, 466 iron guns, and twelve mortars), of which 287 were mounted on the fortifications: there were also 424,400 round shot; 520 lbs. of gunpowder, and 99,000 muskets, carbines, &c. Within the fortress were eleven large powder-magazines; seventy-two expense magazines; eleven armories for making and furnishing small arms; three buildings with machines for boring guns; four large arsenals, and seventeen other store-houses, containing accoutrements, swords, &c.; and many granaries abundantly filled with provisions of every description.—(Beatson's *War with Tippoo*.)

governor-general, in directing the whole resources of British India to one point, and thus, humanly speaking, ensuring success in a single campaign, he was raised a step in the peerage,* and informed that, by the concurrent authority of his majesty's ministers and the Court of Directors, a portion of the spoils of Seringapatam, to the value of £100,000, would be directed to be appropriated for his use, the remainder to be divided among the troops. Lord Wellesley was far from rich, but he unhesitatingly refused this tempting offer, as an encroachment on the claims of the army, and, moreover, as being an injurious precedent, likely to afford the future arbiters of peace and war, in India, pecuniary temptations to a belligerent policy. A star and badge of the order of St. Patrick, composed of some of Tippoo's jewels, was all that he accepted at the time. In 1801, an annuity of £5,000 was settled on him by the company.

Unfortunately, this memorable example of disinterestedness did not prevent some very discreditable proceedings with regard to the distribution of the prize-money; and the commander-in-chief (Harris) and six general officers (Floyd, Baird, Popham, Bridges, Stuart, and Hartley), were considered by the home authorities to have appropriated to themselves a very undue proportion; General Harris, in particular, having received one-eighth instead of one-sixteenth part of the whole. The command of Seringapatam was entrusted by Harris to Colonel Wellesley, much to the displeasure of General Baird, who exclaimed—"Before the sweat was dry on my brow, I was superseded by an inferior officer!" The governor-general showed his conviction of the propriety of the measure, by subsequently investing his brother with the superintendence of the civil government of Mysoor. As, despite his strong family affection, Lord Wellesley is universally acknowledged to have been distinguished for a judicious and impartial selection of particular men for particular positions, perfect reliance may be placed on his own assertion, that, despite the jealousy to which the appointment made

by Harris would give rise among the senior officers, he confirmed, and would himself have originated it if necessary, simply because, from his "knowledge and experience of the discretion, judgment, temper, and integrity" of Colonel Wellesley, he considered him "the most proper for the service."† The generous warmth with which Lord Wellesley cherished the abilities of his younger brothers, was, it may be thought, part of his private rather than public character; but it was closely allied with the active benevolence which formed the main-spring of his whole career. The cadets of the service found themselves, for the first time, the objects of almost parental scrutiny. Talent, zeal, and industry were found to ensure a better welcome at government-house, under an administration celebrated for a singular union of oriental magnificence, patrician refinement, and scholastic lore, than patronage, high birth, or the yet more congenial aristocracy of talent could obtain, unsupported by meritorious service.

The disposition made by Lord Wellesley of the newly-conquered territory, was warmly approved in England, and excited in India a general feeling of surprise at its equity and moderation. The fortress of Vellore, in the Carnatic, was fitted up for the family of Tippoo,‡ and an allowance made for their support, more liberal than that previously assigned by him; his chief officers were all provided for by jaghires or pensions, dispensed with a well-considered munificence, which furnished a striking contrast to the parsimonious dealings of their late master. The affections of the Hindoo population were conciliated§ by an unlooked-for act of generosity. Cham Raj, the pageant-sovereign placed by Hyder on the throne of Mysoor in 1772, died of smallpox in 1796. He had been regularly exhibited in public at the annual feast called the Dussra; but Tippoo chose to dispense with the ceremony of nominating a successor, and caused the son of Cham Raj, a child of two years old, to be removed with his great-grand-mother (a woman of above ninety), his grand-mother, and other female relatives, from the

* Rather a doubtful advantage in the sight of the receiver, who was wont to allude to the merging of an English earldom into an Irish marquise, as having changed his English ale into Irish buttermilk.

† Baird could not be trusted with such authority.

‡ Tippoo left three legitimate and seventeen illegitimate children; twenty-four died before him.

§ The chiefs of districts submitted cheerfully to the conquerors. The only opposition offered was that of

Dhoondea Waugh, a Mahratta, who after serving under Tippoo, set up for himself as leader of a predatory band, was taken prisoner, and remained in confinement for years in the fortress of Seringapatam. Amid the general confusion of the assault he managed to escape, and soon collected round him a daring band of freebooters; nor was it until after several months' hostilities, that he was at length defeated and slain in a charge of cavalry led by Col. Wellesley.

ancient Hindoo palace to a miserable hovel, where they were found by the English authorities, in 1799, in a state of deep poverty and humiliation. Their sorrow was turned into joy and gratitude on being informed that the conquerors had resolved, not simply to restore them to liberty, but to place the young prince Kistna Raj Oodaveer on the throne* of his fathers, in their ancient capital of Mysoor, with a revenue exceeding that of the former Hindoo kingdom. The English reserved to themselves, by treaty, the right of interposing with paramount authority, in the event of any financial or political questions arising similar to those which had long distracted the Carnatic; but so far from employing their unquestioned supremacy to vest (as had been the case on former occasions) all power and profit in English functionaries, nearly every office, civil and military, was left to be filled by the natives themselves. Poornea, the experienced and trustworthy Hindoo chief minister under the usurping dynasty, was continued in office with the decided approbation of the female guardians of the young rajah. Colonel Wellesley, in all respects, but especially by judicious abstinence from needless interference, justified his selection for military commandant; while the rectitude and abilities as a linguist, of Colonel (afterwards Sir Barry) Close, facilitated his satisfactory fulfilment of the delicate position of political resident. The result was, that the Marquis Wellesley, at the close of his memorable administration, was enabled to declare, that the actual success of the arrangement of Mysoor had realised his most sanguine expectations.

* Literally so, for he was seated on the ancient ivory throne, which Aurungebe is said to have expressly sanctioned his ancestor in using, and which was found in a lumber-room of the palace after the siege. The throne of Tippoo was taken to pieces, its various parts forming splendid trophies of victory. The ascent to the musnud was by small silver steps on each side, its support a tiger, somewhat above the natural size, in a standing attitude, entirely covered with plates of pure gold, the eyes and teeth being represented by jewels of suitable colours. A gilded pillar supported a canopy fringed with pearls; from the centre was suspended an image of the *Uma*, a bird about the size and shape of a small pigeon, formed of diamonds, rubies, and emeralds inlaid in gold, and valued in India at 1,600 guineas. It was presented to King George III., as a fitting tribute to royalty, being generally regarded in the East as the harbinger of victory and sovereign power to the favoured individual whom it deigned to overshadow. By a singular coincidence, a bird of this "august" species (for such, according to M. d'Herbelot, is the

Of the usurpations of Hyder, besides those restored to the Hindoo dynasty, to the value of thirteen lacs of pagodas† per annum; and after liberal provision for the families of Hyder and Tippoo, and their chief officers, a large overplus remained, the division of which, between the English and the Nizam, formed the basis of a new treaty.‡ The former took possession of the fortress, city, and island of Seringapatam, the districts of Canara, including all the sea-coast of Mysoor, together with Coimbatore and Daramporam, the intervening country between the territories of the E. I. Cy. on the Coromandel coast, and on that of Malabar; of the forts and posts forming the heads of the principal passes above the Ghauts, on the table-land of Mysoor, and the district of Wynaad. To the Nizam were given territories yielding an equal revenue with those appropriated by the English in the districts of Gooty, Goorumcondah, and the tract of country situated along the military line of Chittledroog, Sera, Nundidroog, and Colar, but without the forts, which it was considered would strengthen, to a dangerous extent, the position of a fluctuating and doubtful ally. The course to be adopted with regard to the Mahrattas, was a difficult question. The peishwa had wholly failed in his engagements of co-operation against Tippoo;§ nevertheless, the governor-general deemed it politic to offer him a share in the conquered territory on certain conditions, which he looked upon as necessary preliminaries to the establishment of a solid and satisfactory peace; especially the reception of an English subsidiary force, and an amicable adjustment, according to English arbitration, of the claim of chout

meaning of its Persian name) built its nest in a grove of trees, under the shade of which the governor-general dictated his despatches while resident at Madras, for the purpose of more conveniently superintending the conduct of the war. The natives hailed with delight the prosperous omen, and received the tidings of the capture of Seringapatam as confirmation of the victorious augury conveyed by the presence of the *Uma*, which the marquis was subsequently empowered to add to his crest, with the motto, "*Super Indos protulit Imperium.*"

† A pagoda was then above eight shillings in value.

‡ The whole of Tippoo's annual revenue was estimated at 30,40,000 pagodas. To the rajah of Mysoor was assigned 13,60,000; to Nizam Ali, 5,30,000; to the E. I. Cy. 5,37,000; for the maintenance of the families of Hyder and Tippoo (in charge of the British government), 2,40,000; and for Kunimur-u-Deen, commander of Tippoo's cavalry, and his family (in charge of the Nizam), 7,00,00 pagodas.—(Duff, iii., 177.)

§ Bajee Rao had actually accepted a heavy bribe from Tippoo to break faith with the English.—(Duff.)

long urged against the Nizam. These stipulations were peremptorily rejected; and the reserved districts of Harponelly, Soonda above the Ghauts, and others, equal in value to between one-half and two-thirds of the previously described portions, were thereupon shared agreeably to the articles of the partition treaty by the company and Sadut Ali.

A fresh contract was entered into between the latter parties in October, 1800, by which the Nizam, who was notoriously incapable of defending himself against the Mahrattas, purchased the services of additional troops from the company and the promise of their aid against every aggressor, by the cession of all acquisitions made from the dominions of Tippoo, either by the late treaty or that of Seringapatam in 1792. The proposition originated with the minister of the Nizam; and the governor-general prudently hastened to close an arrangement which placed the maintenance of the previously subsidised, as well as additional troops, on a more satisfactory footing than the irregular payments of a corrupt government. The countries thus ceded yielded a revenue of about 1,758,000 pagodas. By this arrangement, says Mill, "the English acquired a small territory, with the obligation of defending a large one." This is not correct, inasmuch as the company were previously bound, both by considerations of honour and policy, to protect their ally in time of need; and by the new compact they did but secure themselves against pecuniary loss in so doing. Circumstances again altered their relative positions; or, to speak more plainly, the British power, increasing in an eddying circle, manifested in this as in other cases, its inherent tendency to absorb the misgoverned and unstable principalities which sought and found in its strength temporary support, being driven by necessity, or induced by ignorance or recklessness, to adopt a procedure calculated to induce eventually their political extinction. Lord Wellesley, like many other great statesmen, anticipated but very imperfectly the result of his favourite measure. He hoped to find the subsidiary system instrumental in mitigating the turbulence of the native states of India, by controlling the sources of dissension, and encouraging and enabling minor chiefs to cultivate the arts of peace in the independent enjoyment of their respective rights.* But, in truth, the first elements of stability were wanting; and although the personal

rectitude and ability of a nabob or a rajah, or their chief ministers, might for a time hold together the incongruous elements of Moslem and Hindoo communities, under an efficient rule, distinct, so far as internal regulations were concerned, from the paramount power, provided that were exercised with rigid moderation; yet the more frequent consequence of becoming subsidiary, was utter indifference on the part of the sovereign to the progress of a principality over which he had lost all absolute control; and, on the part of his subjects, contempt and indifference for his diminished power. The oriental idea of authority is identified with despotism; exercised in every variety of form, from the homeliest phase of patriarchal sway, to the unapproached grandeur of Solomon: still the same in essence—the delegated government of God. In the Christian world, despite the blinding influence of our sins and imperfections, we do recognise, by the light of the Gospel, the inestimable worth of civil liberty. The law of the land, apart from the individual who dispenses it, is the basis on which the nationality and independence of every English and American subject rests securely. But to Asiatics this is still a hard saying, and must remain so, until the same source from which we learned to realise its practical importance, be laid open to them also. If British supremacy prove, indeed, the instrument for the spiritual and moral regeneration of India, thrice blessed will be both giver and receiver. Yet whatever be the result, the immediate duty is clear—to spread the Gospel as widely as possible, and to endeavour by good government, by just laws honestly administered, by lenient taxation equitably assessed, to show our native subjects the value of the tree by its fruits.

To return to the affairs of the subsidiary states. The turbulent and dangerous character of Vizier Ali, the rival candidate for the dominion of Oude, rendered it advisable to remove his residence from Benares to Calcutta. The youth remonstrated strongly, but without effect; and while visiting, by appointment, the British resident Mr. Cherry, he spoke in violent terms of the hardship of the threatened coercion. The resident is represented to have behaved with much moderation; but Vizier Ali, giving vent to rage, started up and made a thrust at him with his sword; an example which, according to eastern custom, was immediately followed by his attendants,

* *Wellesley Despatches*, iv., 151.

Mr. Cherry was killed while attempting to escape through a window, and two of his companions shared his fate. The assassins, apparently in the hope of heading a general insurrection, hurried to the residence of the English magistrate,* who, after sending his wife and family to the terrace on the top of the house, seized a long spear, took up his position on a narrow staircase, and delayed their ascent until a party of horse arrived and put them to flight. Vizier Ali sought refuge in the woody country of Bhootwal, and being joined by several disaffected zemindars, soon mustered a considerable predatory force, wherewith to make incursions on Oude. The parsimonious and timid administration of Sadut Ali had rendered him extremely unpopular; and he urgently entreated that the English troops might be stationed immediately about his person to protect him, if need were, against his own army, whose faithlessness and disaffection likewise formed his excuse for not personally taking the field, in co-operation with his allies, against their joint foe. His assistance was not needed; Vizier Ali soon found himself abandoned by his followers, and was, in December, 1800, delivered over by the rajah of Jeypoor to the British government, and detained prisoner in Fort William.†

At the close of hostilities, the marquis pressed on the nabob the propriety of disbanding a force which, by his own showing, was worse than useless. This proposition, Sadut Ali met by a declaration of his desire to resign a position which he found full of weariness and danger. On the further development of his views, it appeared that the abdication in question was to be in favour of his son; and that in quitting the musnud, he intended to carry away the treasures and jewels inherited from Asuf-ad-Dowlah, leaving his successor to pay the arrears due to the E. I. Cy. and the native troops as best he could. These conditions were promptly rejected, and a long discussion ensued, which terminated in the disbandment of all the native troops (their arrears being first wholly liquidated), and the substitution of an additional European force (numbering, in all, 13,000 men), in return for which, the provinces of the Doab and Rohil-

cund‡ were conceded in perpetuity. To adjust the provisional administration of the ceded districts, three of the civil servants of the company were formed into a board of commissioners, and the Hon. Henry Wellesley nominated president and lieutenant-governor. For this appointment Lord Wellesley was blamed by the directors, as an evidence of partiality towards his brother, at the expense of the covenanted officials; but the propriety of the selection (as in the case of Colonel Wellesley in Mysoor) was amply justified by the result; and the disinterestedness (as far as regarded pecuniary motives) of both nominee and nominator was apparent, from no emolument being attached to the delicate and onerous office. By the late treaty, the tribute paid to the ruler of Oude by the nabob of Furruckabad (the Patan chief of a district in the province of Agra), was transferred to the E. I. Cy., and an arrangement made—it is said with his perfect acquiescence—by which he renounced political power, and was added to the growing list of titled stipendiaries. Several of the more powerful zemindars of the ceded territories resisted the proposed alterations, and made attempts at independence; especially Bugwunt Sing, who possessed the forts of Sasnee and Bidjehgur; the rajah Chutter Sâl; and the zemindar of Cutchoura: but they were all overpowered in the course of the years 1802—1803, and compelled to seek safety in flight.

The character of Sadut Ali was strikingly evinced, in the course of his negotiations with Lord Wellesley, by an attempt to win from the latter a sanction similar to that given to his half-brother (Azuf-ad-Dowlah), for the plunder of the begum, the grandmother of both these hopeful rulers. The intimation was met with merited disdain; but the old lady, fearing to be exposed to continuous indirect persecution, took the prudent step of ensuring the peaceable enjoyment of her personal property, by offering to constitute the company her heir—a proposition which was gladly accepted.

While these changes were taking place in Oude, others of a similar character were carried out in Tanjore and Arcot. Rajah Tuljajee died in 1787, leaving his adopted son and heir, Serfojee, a boy of ten years old, under the public tutelage of his half-brother, Ameer Sing, and the private guardianship of the missionary Swartz. Ameer Sing succeeded for a time in persuading the English authorities to treat the adoption of

* Mr. Davis, father of the present Sir J. Davis.

† Vizier Ali was afterwards removed to Vellore, where his family were permitted to join him. He died there, a natural death.—(Davis's *Memoir*.)

‡ The gross revenues of the ceded provinces were one crore, thirty-five lacs, 23,474 rupees.

his young ward as illegal, and caused him to be confined and cruelly ill-treated. The vigilance and untiring exertion of Swartz* occasioned a searching investigation, and the evidence brought forward on the matter led both Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore to consider the claims of Serfojee as well founded. The oppression exercised by Ameer Sing over the widows of the deceased rajah, was accompanied by general maladministration. During the first war with Tippoo, the management of Tanjore had been assumed by the English, as the sole means of rendering its resources available against the common foe; and on the conclusion of peace, a prolonged discussion arose concerning the propriety of restoring to power a ruler whose legal and moral claims were of so questionable a character. The supreme government, fearing to incur the imputation of excessive rigour, replaced Ameer Sing in his former position: but the home authorities do not appear to have approved of this decision; for in June, 1799, they expressly instructed Lord Wellesley not to relinquish possession of the territories of Arcot and Tanjore, which, in the event of hostilities with Tippoo, would "of course come under the company's management," without special orders to that effect. The measure thus taken for granted by the directors, had not been adopted by the governor-general, who deemed the brief and decisive character of the war a sufficient argument against a step the immediate effect of which "would have been a considerable failure of actual resources, at a period of the utmost exigency." The disputed succession afforded a better plea for the assumption of the powers of govern-

* Swartz spared no pains in implanting religious principles, or in cultivating the naturally gifted intellect of Serfojee. The death of the good missionary, in 1798, prevented him from witnessing the elevation of his grateful pupil, who honoured the memory of his benefactor, less by the erection of a stately monument, than by his own life and character. Bishop Heber, in noticing the varied acquirements of Serfojee, states that he quoted Fourcroy, Lavoisier, Linnæus, and Buffon fluently; that he had "formed a more accurate judgment of the merits of Shakspeare than that so felicitously expressed by Lord Byron," and was "much respected by the English officers in the neighbourhood, as a real good judge of a horse, and a cool, bold, and deadly shot at a tiger."—(*Journal*, ii., 459.)

† The key to the cypher was found among the private papers of the sultan. The English were designated by the term *new-comers*; the Nizam, by that of *nothingness*; the Mahrattas, as *despicable*. In commenting on the disclosure of these proofs of faithlessness on the part of the nabobs of the Carnatic,

ment; Ameer Sing was deposed, and Serfojee proclaimed rajah, in accordance with the terms of a treaty, dated October, 1799, by which he renounced all claim to political authority, in return for nominal rank, and the more substantial advantage of a pension of one lac of star pagodas, with a fifth of the net revenues. The assertion of complete authority over the Carnatic, was expedited by the discovery, consequent on the capture of Seringapatam, of a secret correspondence, in cypher,† carried on between Mohammed Ali and his successor, Omdutal-Omrah, with Tippoo, in direct violation of the treaty of 1792. The conduct of the nabob during the late war, in withholding promised supplies, had given rise to suspicions of treachery which were now confirmed. His failing health induced Lord Wellesley to delay the contemplated changes; but on his death, in 1801, the dispositions made by him in favour of his illegitimate son, Ali Hoossein, a minor,‡ were set aside in favour of Azim-ad-Dowlah, a nephew of the late prince, who made over to the company all claim to real power, on condition of receiving the title of nabob, and the allotment of a fifth part of the net revenues of the Carnatic for his support. The company further engaged to provide for the family of the preceding nabobs, and to pay their debts. The government of the extensive and populous, though dilapidated city of Surat, was assumed by the company in 1800; the Mogul nabob, or governor, resigning his claims on receipt of a pension of a lac of rupees annually, in addition to a fifth of the net revenues guaranteed to him and his heirs.

The commencement of the nineteenth as favouring the views of the directors, Mill exclaims, "Nothing surely ever was more fortunate than such a discovery at such a time." Yet, although plainly intimating the possibility of fabricating evidence to prove a lie, he is compelled, by his own truthfulness, to bear witness to the character of the great man, against whom he appears to be, on the whole, strangely prejudiced. "With regard to Lord Wellesley," he adds, "even his faults bear so little affinity with this species of vice, and his most conspicuous virtues are so directly opposed to it, that we may safely infer it to be as unlikely in his case as in any that can well be supposed, that he would fabricate evidence to attain the objects of his desire."—(vi., 312.)

† The governor-general was disposed to confirm the will of the late nabob in favour of Ali Hoossein, despite his illegitimacy; but his refusal (too late withdrawn) to accept the terms offered on behalf of the E. I. Co., occasioned his being altogether set aside. He was carried off by dysentery in the following year. Ameer Sing, the deposed rajah of Tanjore, died a natural death in the commencement of 1802.

century, thus strongly marked by the extension of British power in India, is no less memorable for the bold and decisive measures of foreign policy, planned and executed by the governor-general. The threatened invasion of Zemaun Shah had been no vague rumour. A letter addressed by the Afghan leader to Lord Wellesley, peremptorily demanding the assistance of the English and their ally, the nabob vizier, in rescuing Shah Alum from the hands of the Maharrattas, and replacing him on the throne of his ancestors, had furnished ample reason for precautionary measures against the renewed incursions, under any pretext, of the dreaded Afghans. To avert this evil, there appeared no surer method than to form a close alliance with Persia; and for this purpose Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm was dispatched as British envoy, in December, 1799, to the court of Teheran, attended by a magnificent embassy. The result was completely successful. Ali Shah engaged to lay waste the country of the Afghans if ever they should invade India, and to permit no French force to form a settlement on any of the shores or islands of Persia; the English, on their part, promised to aid the Shah in the event of invasion, whether from France or Cabool. Internal dissension between Zemaun Shah and his brother Mahmood, rendered the issue of the above negotiation of less importance as regarded the Afghans, whose turbulence found vent in civil war; but the danger of French encroachments still pressed severely on the mind of the governor-general. The injury inflicted by the privateering force of the Mauritius and Bourbon upon the Indian coasting trade, and even upon that with Europe, was of serious magnitude. Between the commencement of hostilities and the close of 1800, British property, to the amount of above two million sterling, had been carried into Port St. Louis. Lord Wellesley resolved to attempt the extinction of this fertile source of disasters, by the conquest and occupation of the French islands; and, with this intent, assembled at Trincomalee* in Ceylon, a force comprising three royal regiments and 1,000 Bengal volunteers. The project fell to the ground through the pertinacity of Admiral Rainier, who declared that he could not lawfully take part in the

proposed expedition, without the express sanction of the king. The favourable opportunity was lost; and French privateers continued, during several subsequent years, to harass and plunder the commercial navigation of the eastern seas. The troops assembled by the zeal of Lord Wellesley, found useful and honourable employ. He had repeatedly suggested to the home government the propriety of dispatching an Indian armament for the reinforcement of the British force in Egypt; and on the receipt of orders to that effect in 1801, 1,600 native infantry were added to the body already raised, and forwarded to Mocha as fast as transports could be provided for them.† Sir David Baird had command of the land troops; Rear-admiral Blankett, of a squadron of the company's cruisers, sent on with a small detachment as an advance guard, but Sir Home Popham was dispatched from England to direct the naval part of the expedition. The struggle was well nigh ended before their arrival, by the defeat of the French in Egypt on the 21st of March, with the loss to the victors of their brave leader, Sir Ralph Abercromby. General Baird marched from Suez to Rosetta, at the head of 7,000 men, in the hope of contributing to the capture of Alexandria; but the treaty of surrender was already in progress; and with its ratification, hostilities were brought to a close. The striking demonstration of the power of England, made by bringing together numerous and effective armaments from the east and west, to fight her battles upon the banks of the Nile, was doubtless calculated to "enhance her renown, and confirm her moral as well as political strength." Still, it is well added by Mill, that had the Anglo-Indian army been permitted to accomplish the purpose for which it was first designed by the governor-general, the conquest of the Mauritius and Bourbon would have been a more substantial though less brilliant service.

Upon the restoration of Pondicherry (in accordance with the treaty of Amiens), measures were taken by Buonaparte which amply proved the wisdom of the energetic precautions of the Marquis Wellesley against attempts for the revival of French influence in India. Seven general, and a proportionate number of inferior officers, were sent from

* Trincomalee was taken from the Dutch in 1796.

† Lord Wellesley, with his usual foresight, gave orders for the occupation of Perim, a small island in the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, the possession of which

would have effectually shut up the French forces in the Red Sea, even had they passed through Egypt. The Earl of Elgin, then ambassador to the Porte, effectively co-operated with the marquis in various ways.

France with 1,400 regular troops, and £100,000 in specie. The renewal of war in Europe afforded a reason for the reoccupation of Pondicherry in 1803, and enabled the E. I. Cy. to direct undivided attention to the complicated hostilities then carried on with the Mahrattas, the only Indian people possessing in themselves resources to maintain unaided a long contest. The most vulnerable part of the British frontier lay contiguous to the country possessed by Sindia. The death of Nana Furnavees, in 1800, left this enterprising chief no formidable rival at the court of Poona; and Bajee Rao the peishwa, appeared little less entirely under his control than the pageant-emperor of Delhi. In the event, therefore, of a struggle for supremacy, arising out of the numerous causes of quarrel abounding on both sides, the Mahratta confederacy, including the rajah of Berar, the representative of the Holar family in Malwa, and the Guicowar of Guzerat, with other leaders of minor rank, led by Sindia and the peishwa, and aided by the skill and science of French officers, could collect a force against their European rivals which it would require a costly sacrifice of blood and treasure to repel. The best mode of averting this dangerous possibility appeared to be the formation of a strict alliance with one, at least, if not with the whole of the Mahratta chiefs. The error of Hastings, in sanctioning the aggressions of Sindia in Hindoostan Proper, had furnished experience which strengthened the convictions of Lord Wellesley with regard to the policy of forming connexions with native powers, only on conditions calculated to secure an ascendancy, more or less direct, in their councils. Perfect neutrality amid scenes of foreign and domestic warfare, venality, extortion, and bloodshed, could scarcely have been recommended by considerations of duty or of policy; and such a course, even supposing it to have been practicable, must have involved the infraction of old as well as recent treaties, offensive and defensive, with the Nizam and others. As for Lord Wellesley, his clear and statesmanlike view of the case, formed after careful examination of the actual state of British power in India, was never marred by doubt or hesitation in the moment of action. Fettered by the parliamentary denunciation against the extension, under any circumstances, of the Anglo-Indian empire, yet, convinced that its foundations must be largely in-

creased before a state of secure and tranquil authority could be reasonably expected, he was often driven to adduce secondary causes to justify measures, which might have been sufficiently vindicated on the score of political necessity, since they involved no moral wrong. The wretchedness of the people of the Carnatic and Oude, abundantly excuse the steps taken to place them under the immediate superintendence of the company, in preference to employing, or rather continuing to employ, the military force of England in riveting the chains of a foreign despotism, founded on usurpation of the worst kind, that of sworn servants betraying their master in the hour of weakness. There were no lawful heirs to these states; or, if there were, they should have been searched for in the ancient records of the Hindoos: the Mohammedans were all intruders in the first instance, and the existing leaders of every denomination, with few exceptions, rebellious subjects. Why, each one of the African chiefs, whom English colonists and Dutch boors have so unscrupulously exiled from their native territories, had more of hereditary right and constitutional privilege on his side than all the Indo-Mohammedan dynasties put together. The case of the Hindoos is widely different; but in excuse, or rather in justification, of the conduct of the company, it may be urged that they found the great majority of the native inhabitants of India, under Moslem rulers, a conquered and much-oppressed people; and that, if England do her duty as a Christian state, they will, and—with all her errors and shortcomings, it may be added, they have materially benefited by the change.

The Rajpoot states were the only ones which, although brought in collision with the Mogul empire, were never wholly absorbed in it. The Mahratta confederation had been founded on the ruins of the vast dominion won by the strong arm of Aurungzebe, and lost through persecuting bigotry and the exactions consequent on unceasing war. Sevajee and Bajee Rao (the first usurping peishwa, or prime minister) built up Mahratta power. Madhoo Rao I. arrested its dissolution; but Mahadajee Sindia, prompted by overweening ambition, enlarged his chieftdom until its overgrown dimensions exceeded in extent the whole remainder of the Mahratta empire, and threatened speedily to destroy the degree of independence still existing in Rajpootana. Dowlut Rao possessed equal ambition and energy with his

predecessor, but far less judgment and moderation. The retirement to Europe, in 1796, of the experienced and unprejudiced leader of the European trained bands, De Boigne, and the accession to authority of a French leader named Perron, with strong national feelings, gave a decidedly anti-English bias to the counsels of Dowlut Rao. The peishwa Bajee Rao, knew this, and had, in the time of Sir John Shore, courted the protection of the supreme government, as a means of securing to himself some degree of authority. The danger of provoking war, by giving offence to Sindia, induced the refusal of this request. The accession to office of Lord Wellesley was attended with a reversal of the policy of both parties. Perceiving the great advantage to be derived from the permanent settlement of a subsidiary force at Poona, the governor-general formally offered the services of a body of the company's troops, for the protection of the peishwa and the revival of the energies of his government. The very circumstance of the boon, once urgently sought, being now pressed on his acceptance, would have sufficed to ensure its rejection by so capricious and distrustful a person as Bajee Rao: but other reasons—especially the meditated departure of Sindia, to superintend his own disaffected troops in Hindoostan, and the impending war between Tippoo and the English—were not wanting to confirm his determination. The conquest of Mysoor again changed the aspect of affairs; but Bajee Rao, in accordance with the sagacious counsels of Nana Furnavees,* even after the death of the wary minister, continued to reject the alliance pressed on him by the English, until an unexpected chain of events compelled him to look to them exclusively for help and protection.

SINDIA AND HOLCAR.—A new actor had recently come forward on the stage of Mahratta politics, whose progress seemed likely to diminish the authority of Sindia, and enable Bajee Rao to exercise unquestioned supremacy at Poona. Of these anticipated results only the former was realised; the predatory chief in question, Jeswunt Rao Holcar, proving strong enough not only to harass but to defeat the

troops of Sindia, and drive Bajee Rao from his capital. The founders of the Sindia and Holcar families were, it will be remembered, men of humble origin; they became distinguished as leaders of Pindarries, a class of the lowest freebooters who had from early times infested the Deccan. Bajee Rao I., though always ready to avail himself of their services for the invasion of Mogul provinces, took care to exclude such dangerous subjects from Maharashtra, by habitually stationing them in Malwa, where the power of the two leaders became paramount. The progress and history of Mahadajee Sindia has been incidentally told in previous pages; but of Mulhar Rao Holcar little mention has been made since the battle of Paniput, in 1760, when he was named as one of the few leaders who escaped the carnage of that day. Having retreated into Central India, he employed himself, during the remaining years of his life, in settling and consolidating his possessions in Malwa and the Deccan. He had established considerable influence in Jeypoor, and obtained from the rajah an annual tribute of three lacs and a-half of rupees. A considerable part of the province of Candeish had been allotted to him for the maintenance of his troops; beside which, several villages were granted, by the peishwa and the Nizam, to the females of his family. The only lineal descendant of Mulhar Rao, a vicious youth of unsound mind, succeeded his grandfather in 1766, but survived him only nine months. His mother Ahalya (pronounced *Alea*) Bye, a singularly gifted woman, declared her intention, as the sole representative of both the deceased rulers, to select a successor. Ragoba† attempted to interfere; but Madhoo Rao, with characteristic chivalry, directed his uncle to desist from further opposition to the projects of a person whose right and ability to manage affairs were alike indisputable. With the entire approbation of the leading military commanders in the army of her deceased relatives, Ahalya Bye took the reins of power in her own hands. The Mohammedan custom of rigid seclusion had happily not been imitated by Mahratta females; Ahalya Bye had therefore no conventional impediment of any kind to check the free exercise of

* Nana Furnavees was imprisoned by Sindia; but being released in 1798, on payment of ten lacs of rupees, he accepted office under Bajee Rao.

† When the power of Ahalya Bye became established, the beautiful but wicked wife of Ragoba sent a female attendant to bring her an account of the personal appearance of a princess so highly cele-

brated, and so universally beloved. The description of a small slight woman, with irregular features, but "a heavenly light on her countenance," set the fair *intrigante* at rest as to any rivalry in the attractions by which she set most store; and, without noticing the last part of the description, Anundee Bye remarked, "But she is not handsome, you say."

her physical or mental powers. Still there were duties inconsistent with a woman's sphere of action; and to ensure their fulfilment, she formally adopted as her son,* and elected as commander-in-chief, Tookajee Holcar, the leader of the household troops; of the same tribe, but no otherwise related to Mulhar Rao. Like our great Elizabeth, the fitness of her ministers proved the judgment of the selector. The conduct of Tookajee, during a period of above thirty years, justified the confidence reposed in him. Ahalya Bye died, aged sixty, worn out with public cares and fatigues, aggravated by domestic sorrows; but without having had, during that long interval, a single misunderstanding with her brave and honest coadjutor. The history of the life of this extraordinary woman, given by Sir John Malcolm, affords evidence of the habitual exercise of the loftiest virtues; and it is difficult to say, whether manly resolve or feminine gentleness predominated, so marvellously were they blended in her character. The utter absence of vanity, whether as a queen or a woman;† the fearless and strictly conscientious exercise of despotic power, combined with the most unaffected humility and the deepest sympathy for suffering; learning without pedantry, cheerfulness without levity, immaculate rectitude with perfect charity and tolerance;—these and other singular combinations would almost tempt one to regard Ahalya Bye as too faultless for fallen and sinful humanity, but for the few drawbacks entailed by her rigid adherence to almost every portion of the modern Brahminical creed, in which, happily, persecution has still no part, though self-inflicted austerities and superstitious observances have gained a most undue prominence. The declining age of the princess was saddened by the resolution taken by her only surviving child, Muchta Bye, of self-immolation on the grave of her husband. The battle-field had widowed Ahalya Bye at twenty; yet—despite the modern heresy of the Hindoos, that the voluntary sacrifice of life, on the part of the bereaved survivor, ensures immediate reunion between those whom death has divided, and their mutual entrance into the highest heaven, she had not been tempted by this lying doctrine to commit suicide,

but had lived to protect her children and establish the independence of the Holcar principality. Now, flinging herself at the feet of Muchta Bye, she besought her child, by every argument a false creed could sanction, to renounce her purpose. The reply of the daughter was affectionate but decided. "You are old, mother," she said, "and a few years will end your pious life. My only child and husband are gone, and when you follow, life I feel will be insupportable; but the opportunity of terminating it with honour will then have passed." Every effort, short of coercion, was vainly practised to prevent the intended "*suttee*,"‡ but the unfaltering resolve of the devoted widow remained unshaken, and her wretched parent accompanied the procession, with forced composure, to the funeral pyre: but when the first vivid burst of flame told of the actual consummation of the sacrifice, self-command was lost in anguish; the agonising shrieks of their beloved ruler mingled with the exulting shouts of the immense multitude; and excited almost to madness, the aged princess gnawed the hands she could not liberate from the two Brahmins, who with difficulty held her back from rushing to die with her child. After three days spent in fasting and speechless grief, Ahalya Bye recovered her equanimity so far as to resume her laborious round of daily occupations, including four hours spent in receiving ambassadors, hearing petitions or complaints, and transacting other business in full durbar or court; and she seemed to find solace in erecting a beautiful monument to the memory of those she lamented, and in increasing the already large proportion of the revenues devoted to religious purposes and public works. Her charity was not bounded by the limits of the principality: it began at home (for she fed her own poor daily), but it extended to far-distant lands. The pilgrim journeying to Juggernaut in Cuttack, in the far north amid the snowy peaks of the Himalaya, or south almost to Cape Comorin, found cause to bless the sympathy for individual suffering, as well as the reverence for holy shrines, manifested by Ahalya Bye with royal munificence; while the strange traveller, without claim of creed or country, was arrested

* Although Tookajee always addressed her by the name of "mother," he was considerably her senior.

† A Brahmin wrote a book in her praise. Ahalya Bye, after patiently hearing it read, remarked, that she was "a weak, sinful woman, not deserving

such fine encomiums," directed the book to be thrown into the Nerbudda, which flowed beneath her palace window, and took no farther notice of the author.—(Malcolm's *Central India*, i., 193.)

‡ *Suttee* or *sati*, denotes the completed sacrifice.

on his weary, dusty road, by water-bearers stationed at intervals to supply the wants of the passer-by; and the very oxen near her dwelling at Mhysir, were refreshed by cooling draughts brought by the domestic servants of the compassionate princess.

The beasts of the field, the birds of the air, the fishes of the sea, had all their allotted share of her bounty; and however puerile some of her minor arrangements may sound to European ears, or fanatical the habits of a sovereign who never discarded the plain white weeds of Hindoo widowhood, or touched animal food; yet, probably, these very traits of character conspired to add to the reputation her government retains in Malwa as the best ever known, the personal reverence paid to her memory as more than a saint, as an Avatar, or incarnation of the Deity.

A blessing rested on the efforts of Ahalya Bye, despite the fettering power of heathen darkness. Indore grew, beneath her sway, from a village to a wealthy city; bankers, merchants, farmers, and peasants, all thrived beneath her vigilant and fostering care. Malcolm states, that he made inquiries among all ranks and classes in the countries she had governed, and could elicit no information calculated to detract, in the judgment of the most impartial inquirer, from the effect of the eulogiums, or rather blessings, poured forth whenever her name was mentioned, except the large sums bestowed on Brahmins, and the expenditure of state funds in the erection and maintenance of public works on foreign soil. The remarks made by one of her chief ministers, when commenting on what Sir John considered misdirected bounty, afford a suggestive text alike to eastern and western potentates. He asked, "whether Ahalya Bye, by spending double the money on an army that she did in charity and good works, could have preserved her country for above thirty years in a state of profound peace, while she rendered her subjects happy and herself adored? No person doubts the sincerity of her piety; but if she had merely possessed worldly wisdom, she could have devised no means so admirably calculated to effect the object. Among the princes of her own nation, it would have been looked upon as sacrilege to have become her enemy, or, indeed, not to have defended her against any hostile attempt. She was considered by all in the same light. The Nizam of the Deccan and Tippoo Sultan

granted her the same respect as the peishwa, and Mohammedans joined with Hindoos in prayers for her long life and prosperity."*

After the death of Ahalya Bye, in 1795, the sole authority centred in Tookajee Holcar, who survived his excellent mistress about two years. He left two legitimate sons, Casee and Mulhar Rao. The elder was of weak intellect and deformed person; the younger, able and active. Ahalya Bye and Tookajee had hoped that the example of their unanimity would be followed by the brothers in the joint exercise of authority, but neither of the princes were capable of the self-denial and lofty rectitude necessary for such a course; and preparations for a war of succession were at once commenced, but abruptly terminated by the treacherous interference of Dowlut Rao Sindia, who having inveigled Mulhar Rao to his camp, caused him to be shot through the head; and retaining possession of Casee Rao, not only compelled him to pay the heavy price stipulated for the murder of his brother, but reduced him to the condition of a mere tool. An avenger arose unexpectedly to scourge the unprincipled ambition of Sindia. Two illegitimate sons of Holcar, Jeswunt Rao and Etojee, survived their father; the latter was seized and imprisoned by Sindia and Bajee Rao. He escaped and joined a body of freebooters; but being recaptured, was trampled to death by an elephant in the city of Poona. Jeswunt Rao sought refuge at Nagpoor with Ragojee Bhonslay of Berar. His confidence was betrayed; and through the intrigues of Sindia and the peishwa, he also was made a captive, but succeeded in eluding his guard, and reaching Candeish about a year and a-half after the death of Mulhar Rao. Resolved to make an effort to rescue the possessions of his family from the hands of Sindia, he took the name of assertor of the rights of Kundee Rao, the infant son of Mulhar Rao, then a prisoner at Poona, and assembled a heterogeneous force of Pindarries, Bheels, Afghans, Mahrattas, and Rajpoots. In 1798, he joined his fortunes with those of Amcer Khan, a Mohammedan adventurer, less daring and reckless, but quite as unprincipled as himself, on whom he subsequently conferred the title of nabob. A terrible series of hostilities ensued between Sindia and Holcar. From the appearance of the latter chief, in 1800, the natives of Central India date the commencement of

* Malcolm's *Central India*, i., 189.

an epoch of eighteen years' duration, which they emphatically designate "the time of trouble." The trained battalions of Sindia were defeated, and his capital, Oojein, and other chief places, captured and rifled by Holar and Ameer Khan, with a barbarity which was horribly revenged on the wretched inhabitants of Indore by the instrumentality of Sirjee Rao Ghatkay, the father-in-law of Sindia, and the prompter as well as executor of his worst actions. Between four and five thousand persons are said to have perished by the sword, or under tortures inflicted by the ferocious Pindarries, for the express gratification of their diabolical leader; and the wells within the limits of Indore were actually choked up by the bodies of females, who had rushed on death to avoid the lust and cruelty which reigned unchecked for a period of fifteen days, and ended only with the slaughter or flight of almost every citizen, and the demolition of every house. Jeswunt Rao, with Indore, lost his only means of giving regular pay to his soldiers. Without attempting disguise, he told them the aetnal state of the case, and bade such as chose follow his fortunes in quest of plunder. The invitation was accepted with acclamation, and Jeswunt Rao became avowedly the leader of an army of freebooters, whose worst licentiousness he directed rather than curbed, and whose turbulence he bent to his will by the habitual display of the dauntless courage which formed the distinguishing characteristic of his family, and by the coarse humour and inimitable cajolery peculiar to himself.* His declared object was the restoration of Mahratta supremacy over India by a revival of the predatory system of Sevajee; but of this there was never any reasonable prospect. Jeswunt Rao was not the man to found a state even on the most precarious basis; he was "terrible as a destroyer," but powerless to erect or consolidate dominion.

The marauding force increased daily. Sindia renounced the cause of Casee Rao (who became thenceforth a dependent on

his half-brother), and would have willingly purchased peace by the surrender of the infant Kundee Rao; but Holcar knew his strength, and had, besides, gone too far to recede with safety. A desperate contest took place between the two chiefs near Poona, in October, 1802, when the personal exertions of Jeswunt Rao, who had staked his all on the event, with the determination of not surviving defeat, resulted in a complete victory. By turning his own guns on the ungovernable Patans of Ameer Khan, who was quite unable to check their violence,† Holcar saved the city from indiscriminate pillage; not, however, from any motive of justice or compassion, but only that he might be enabled to plunder it systematically and at leisure, for the payment of the arrears of his troops and the replenishment of his private coffers. After committing every description of extortion, and giving, in his own person, an example of hard-drinking, by unrestrained indulgence in his favourite liquors, cherry and raspberry brandy, he left Amrut Rao (Ragoba's adopted son) in charge of the government, and marched off to pursue his marauding avocations in Central India.

The triumph of Holcar completely changed the relative position of Bajee Rao and the English. Surrounded by a select body of troops, the peishwa waited the result of the contest; and when it was decided, fled from Poona, leaving with the British resident a draft treaty for the company, requesting the permanent establishment of a subsidiary force within his dominions, and proffering in return the assignment of a certain amount of territory, and a pledge to hold no intercourse with other states, except in concert with the English. The treaty of Bassein, arranged on this basis, was concluded in 1802. It entailed the subjection of the claims of the peishwa on the Nizam, and on Anund Rao Guicowar, the chief of Baroda in Guzerat, with whom the English had recently become closely allied; their interference having been solicited in

* The following anecdote indicates that, with all his vices, Jeswunt Rao was not what a modern writer designates a *sham*. At an early period of his career, the accidental bursting of a matchlock deprived him of the sight of an eye. When told of the irreparable injury inflicted, he exclaimed, in allusion to the Indian proverb that one-eyed people are always wicked—"I was bad enough before, but now I shall be the very Gooroo (high-priest) of rogues." He had no religious scruples, but would plunder temples and private dwellings with equal indifference. The madness in which his career ended, is regarded as the punishment of sacrilege.

† Ameer Khan had little personal courage. After the battle of Poona he came to Jeswunt Rao, who was tying up his wounds, and boasted of good fortune in escaping unhurt; "for, see!" he said, pointing to the feather mounted in silver, which adorned his horse's head, "my khuljee has been broken by a cannon-ball." "Well, you are a fortunate fellow," retorted the Mahratta, with a burst of incredulous laughter; "for I observe the shot has left the ears of your steed uninjured, though the wounded ornament stood betwixt them." — (*Central India*, i., 229.)

favour of the legitimate heir in a case of disputed succession. These concessions involved a heavy sacrifice of political power; but they were slight compared with those which would have been exacted by Sindia or Holcar; and Bajee Rao could scarcely fail to fall into the hands of one or other of these leaders, if not upheld by extraneous support. Like his father, he had few personal friends, and so little deserving the name of a party at Poona, that the governor-general, on discovering his unpopularity, appears to have doubted what course to pursue with regard to his reinstatement on the musnud. The treaty had been entered upon in the belief that the majority of the jaghiredars, and the great mass of the nation, would co-operate with the English for the restoration of the peishwa. But if his weakness or wickedness had thoroughly alienated their confidence, the case was different; and Lord Wellesley plainly declared, that "justice and wisdom would forbid any attempt to impose upon the Mahrattas a ruler whose restoration to authority was adverse to every class of his subjects."

In the absence of any general manifestation of disaffection, Bajee Rao was escorted by an English force to the capital from whence he had fled with so little ceremony. Amrut Rao retired on learning his approach, and eventually became a state pensioner, resident at Benares. Tranquillity seemed restored. There could be no doubt that Holcar, Sindia, and Ragojee Bhonslay of Berar, would all feel mortified by a treaty which gave the English that very ascendancy in the councils of Poona they, or at least Sindia and Holcar, individually coveted. Still Lord Wellesley considered that their mutual deep-rooted enmity would prevent a coalition for so desperate an object as war with the English. Perhaps the result would have realised these anticipations had Bajee Rao been true to his engagements; instead of which, he behaved with accustomed duplicity, and corresponded with both Sindia and Ragojee Bhonslay, to whom he represented his recent voluntary agreement as wholly compulsory, and endeavoured to incite them to hostilities, trusting to the chapter of accidents for the improvement of his own position. Yet, when the moment

for action came, his schemes were lost in timidity and indecision: he would not trust others; he could not trust himself.

Holcar had heretofore expressly disavowed any unfriendly feeling towards the English;* and they would willingly have mediated between him and the peishwa, had the rancorous animosity of the latter suffered them to enter upon the negotiation. Sindia courted the co-operation of Holcar through the instrumentality of Ragojee Bhonslay, and went so far as to surrender the child Kundee Rao, and acknowledge Mulhar Rao as the representative of the Holcar family, surrendering to him their territories in Malwa, and recognising his various claims throughout Hindoostan. Despite these concessions, the robber-chief hung back; and when pressed by the confederates to unite his army with theirs in the Deccan, with a view to making war upon the E. I. Cy., he asked who was to take care of Northern India? and withdrew to pillage the defenceless provinces of friend and foe.

The gathering storm did not escape the observation of the governor-general. Hostile preparations were commenced in every part of British India, and a declaration of his intentions demanded from Sindia; who replied curtly, yet candidly, that he could not give any until after an approaching interview with the Bhonslay; but would then inform the resident "whether it would be peace or war." This pledge was not redeemed; the meeting took place, and was followed by vague and general professions of good-will to the British government, mingled with complaints against the peishwa for an undue assumption of authority in signing the treaty of Bassein. The civil expressions of the chiefs ill accorded with the hostile and menacing attitude occupied by their armies on the frontiers of Oude. Major-general Wellesley, to whom his brother had delegated full powers, political as well as military, either for negotiation or war, brought matters to an issue with characteristic frankness, by proposing as a test of the amicable intentions of the two chiefs, that they should respectively withdraw their forces, pledging himself to do the same on the part of the English. The offer being rejected, the British resident was with-

* The day after the taking of Poona, Col. Close, the British resident, was sent for by Holcar, whom he found in a small tent ankle-deep in mud, with a spear wound in the body and a sabre-cut in the head; which last he had received from an artillery-

man while leading a charge on the guns of the enemy. He expressed a strong wish to be on good terms with the English, and, with reluctance, permitted the withdrawal of the resident, after which the worst outrages were committed at Poona.

drawn, and preparations made on both sides for an appeal to arms.

MAHRATTA WAR.—The governor-general well knew that the finances of his employers were in no condition to endure the drain of protracted warfare, and he resolved to follow out the policy so brilliantly successful in the Mysoor campaign, of bringing the whole force of British India to bear on the enemy; not, however, by concentration on a single point, but by attacking their territories in every quarter at the same time.

The army, by his exertions, was raised to nearly 50,000 men. The troops in the Deccan and Guzerat numbered 35,600, of whom 16,850 formed the advanced force under General Wellesley; in Hindoostan, 10,500 men were under the command of General (afterwards Lord) Lake; 3,500 were assembled at Allahabad to act on the side of Bundelcund; and 5,216 were destined for the invasion of Cuttack. The armies of Sindia and Ragojee were estimated at about 100,000 men, of whom half were cavalry; and 30,000 regular infantry and cavalry, commanded by Europeans, chiefly French, under M. Perron, the successor of De Boigne. Himmutoo Bahadur, an influential Mahratta chief of Bundelcund,* sided with the English against the rajah, Shumsheer Bahadur. The campaign opened by the conquest, or rather occupation, of Ahmednuggur, the ancient capital of the Ahmed Shahi dynasty, on the 1st of August, 1803. The army under Major-general Wellesley, by whom it was accomplished, after much marching and counter-marching, fought the famous battle of Assaye, so named from a fortified village (near the junction of the Kailna and Juah rivers, 261 miles north-west of Hyderabad), before which the confederates had encamped 21st August, 1803. They numbered 50,000 men, and were supported by above a hundred pieces of artillery. The British counted but 4,500 men; and their leader beheld with anxiety the strength of the foe, even though, on finding the Mahrattas at length drawn up in battle array, the exulting remark re-echoed through the ranks—"They cannot escape us." While the British lines were forming, the Mahrattas opened a murderous can-

nonade. The 74th regiment sustained heavy loss, and were charged by a body of the enemy's horse. The 19th light dragoons drew only 360 sabres, but they received the order for a counter-charge with a glad huzza; and being manfully seconded by native cavalry, passed through the broken but undismayed 74th amid the cheers of their wounded comrades, cut in, routed the opposing horse, and dashed on at the infantry and guns. The troops of the line pressed on after them, and drove the enemy into the Juah at the point of the bayonet. The victory was complete, but dearly purchased; for one-third of the conquerors lay dead or wounded at the close of this sanguinary action. Of the Mahrattas, 1,200 were slain; the bodies of the fallen were scattered around in dense masses, and ninety-eight pieces of cannon remained on the field. Ragojee Bhonslay fled at an early period of the action, and Sindia soon followed his example. The cavalry evinced little inclination to out-stay their masters; but the infantry behaved with greater steadiness; the artillerymen stood to the last, and eight of the trained battalions of De Boigne manifested unflinching determination. When resistance became hopeless, the majority surrendered.†

In the meantime, success still more brilliant in its results had attended the army under Lake, who was himself the very model of a popular commander, as brave and collected in the front of the battle as in a council of his own officers. The destruction of Sindia's force under Perron, the capture of Agra and Delhi, with the person of the emperor—these were the leading objects to which he was to direct operations; and they were all so perfectly fulfilled, that the governor-general declared, his most sanguine expectations having been realised, he was unexpectedly called on to furnish fresh instructions. General Lake first came in sight of the enemy's cavalry at Coel, near the fort of Alighur, whither they retired after a slight skirmish. Alighur, the ordinary residence of M. Perron, was, in his absence, bravely defended by the governor, M. Pedrons. It was well garrisoned, and surrounded by a

* The ancient Hindoo dynasty of Bundelcund, of which Chutter Sâl was the last efficient representative, was overwhelmed by the Mahrattas about 1786. Shumsheer Bahadur was an illegitimate descendant of the first peishwa, Bajee Rao. Himmutoo Bahadur, by a not unfrequent combination, was a *gosaen* (religious devotee) and a soldier of fortune.—(Duff.)

† The fidelity of these mercenary troops is rendered more remarkable by the fact, that a politic proclamation, issued by the governor-general at the commencement of the war, had had the effect of inducing the British part of the European officers to quit the service of Sindia, on condition of the continuance of the pay previously received from him.

deep and wide moat, traversed by a narrow causeway, which formed the sole entrance to the fort, and for which, by some strange neglect, a drawbridge had not been substituted. One of the British officers who had come over from the service of Sindia, offered to head an attack on the gateway. The daring enterprise was carried out. Of four gates, the first was blown open by troops exposed to a heavy fire; the second easily forced; the third entered with a mass of fugitives; but the fourth, which opened immediately into the body of the place, resisted even the application of a 12-pounder. In this extremity, a party of grenadiers, led by Major McLeod, pushed through the wicket and mounted the ramparts. Opposition soon ceased, and the British found themselves masters of the fortress, with the loss of 278 men killed and wounded, including seventeen European officers. Of the garrison, about 2,000 perished; many of whom were drowned in the ditch while attempting to escape.

From Alighur, Lake marched to the north-westward, and on the 11th of September, encamped within six miles of Delhi. The tents were scarcely fixed, when the enemy appeared in front. Perron had just quitted the service of Sindia, in consequence of the well-founded jealousy manifested towards him by that chief and the leading native officers. M. Bourquin, the second in command, took his place; and on learning the advance of the British against Delhi, crossed the Jumna with twelve battalions of regular infantry, and 5,000 cavalry, for the purpose of attacking General Lake, whose force, after providing for the safety of his baggage, amounted to about 4,500 men. Bourquin took up a position on rising ground, with swamps on either side, defended in front by seventy pieces of cannon, half-buried amid long grass. From this secure station he was withdrawn by a feint, which, with less highly disciplined troops, would have been very hazardous. Lake advanced to reconnoitre, and after having a horse shot under him, fell back with the cavalry in regular order upon the infantry, who had been meanwhile ordered to advance. The enemy followed the retreating cavalry, until the latter, opening from the centre, made way for the foot to advance to the front. Perceiving the trap into which he had fallen, Bourquin halted, and commenced a deadly fire of grape, round, and canister; amidst which the British troops

moved on without returning a shot until within one hundred yards of the foe; they then fired a volley, and charged with the bayonet. Sindia's infantry, unequal to a hand-in-hand encounter, abandoned their guns, fled, and were pursued as far as the banks of the Jumna, in which river numbers perished. The total loss of the Mahrattas was estimated at 3,000; that of the British at 585, including fifteen European officers.

After being seventeen hours under arms, the troops took up fresh ground towards the river, and next morning encamped opposite the city of Delhi. In three days every show of resistance ceased, the fort was evacuated, Bourquin and five other French officers surrendered as prisoners of war, and the unfortunate Shah Alum thankfully placed himself under the protection of the British commander, September 10th, 1803.* General Lake next marched against Agra, where all was strife and confusion. The garrison had been under the command of British officers, who, on the breaking out of the war, were confined by their own troops. Seven battalions of Sindia's regular infantry were encamped on the glacis, but the besieged feared to admit them, on account of the treasure which they wished to reserve for themselves. The battalions were attacked on the 10th of October, and defeated after a severe conflict; three days afterwards, those who remained came over in a body, and were admitted into the E. I. Co's service. The siege of the fort was then commenced, and a breach effected, when further proceedings were arrested by the capitulation of the garrison, the imprisoned officers being released, in order to make terms with their countrymen. The surrender was accomplished on condition of safety for life and private property, leaving treasure to the amount of £280,000 to be divided among the troops as prize-money.

It is almost impossible to sketch a campaign carried on simultaneously by different widely-separated armies, without losing the thread of the narrative, or interfering with the chronological succession of events. Choosing the latter as the lesser evil, it may be mentioned that, towards the close of October, General Lake quitted Agra in pursuit of a large force, composed of fifteen

General Lake found Shah Alum seated under a small tattered canopy, his person emaciated by indigence and infirmity, and his countenance disfigured with the loss of his eyes, and bearing marks of extreme old age, joined to a settled melancholy.

regular battalions, dispatched by Sindia from the Deccan to strengthen his northern army; of which there now remained but two battalions, the wreck of the Delhi troops. The total was, however, formidable; being estimated at about 9,000 foot and 5,000 horse, with a numerous and well-appointed train of artillery. Their design was supposed to be the recovery of Delhi; but as the British advanced, the Mahrattas retreated; and Lake, fearing they would escape his vigilance, and suddenly reappear in some unlooked-for quarter, followed with his cavalry by forced marches, until, on the 1st of November, he found himself, after a night's journey of twenty-five miles, in face of an enemy in apparent confusion, but advantageously posted, and refreshed by rest. After an ineffectual and disastrous attempt at attack, the British general was compelled to withdraw his brigade out of reach of cannon-shot, and await the arrival of the infantry. The details of this portion of the action are somewhat vaguely told. The 76th regiment, which was chosen to head the attack, with some native infantry,* who had closed to the front, first reached the point from which the charge was to be made, and stood alone, waiting until the remainder of the column should be formed by their comrades, whose march "had been retarded by impediments in the advance,"† the nature of which is not stated. So galling was the fire opened by the enemy, that Lake, who conducted in person every operation of the day, and had already had one horse shot under him, resolved to lead the van to the assault, sooner than stand still and witness its destruction. At this moment his second horse fell, pierced by several balls. His son, who officiated as aide-de-camp, sprang to the ground, and had just prevailed on the general to take the vacant seat, when he was struck down by a ball. Lake had a singularly affectionate nature; the fall of his child, severely if not mortally wounded, was well calculated to unnerve, or, in his own phrase, "unman" him; but he knew his duty, and loved the troops, who, he writes with unaffected modesty, "at this time wanted every assistance I could give them."‡ Leaving Major Lake on the field, the general rode on with his gallant band, until, on

arriving within reach of the canister-shot of the foe, their ranks were so rapidly thinned as to render regular advance impracticable, and tempt the Mahratta horse to charge. But this "handful of heroes," as they were gratefully termed by Lake, himself "*le brave des braves*," repulsed their assailants, who withdrew to a little distance. The order to the British horse to charge in turn, was brilliantly executed by the 29th dragoons. They dashed through both lines of the opposing infantry, wheeled round upon the cavalry, and, after driving them from the field, turned the rear of the enemy's second line. The British foot failed not to take advantage of the opportunity thus afforded. The whole force had by this time arrived on the field of battle, and the issue soon ceased to be doubtful; yet the hardy veterans of De Boigne's regiments, though deprived of almost all their experienced officers, would not surrender. About 2,000 of them were broken, surrounded and made prisoners, but the majority fell with weapons in their hands. "The gunners," writes the victorious general, "stood by their guns until killed by the bayonet: all the sepoys of the enemy behaved exceedingly well; and, if they had been commanded by French officers, the event would have been, I fear, extremely doubtful. I never was in so severe a business in my life, or anything like it; and pray to God I never may be in such a situation again. * * * These fellows fought like devils, or rather heroes."§

The battle of Laswaree was in all respects memorable. It completed the overthrow of the European disciplined brigades, and gave to England undisputed mastery over Delhi and Agra, with all Sindia's districts north of the Chmbul. These advantages were gained at a heavy sacrifice of life. The English loss amounted to 172 killed and 652 wounded: that of the Mahrattas was estimated at 7,000.||

The detached expeditions had likewise successfully accomplished their respective missions. All Sindia's possessions in Guzerat were captured by a division of the Bombay troops under Lieutenant-colonel Woodington. Broach was taken by storm on the 29th of August; and the strong hill-

to praise others, barely notices his own gallant deeds or those of his son: but he mentions, the day after the battle, that parental anxiety rendered him "totally unfit for anything." Happily, Major Lake's wound proved less severe than was at first expected.

|| *Memoir of the Campaign*; by Major Thorn.

* The second battalion of the 12th native infantry, and five companies of the 16th.—(Thornton, iii. 338.)

† Despatch of Lake to the governor-general.—(*Wellesley Despatches*, vol. iii., 443.)

‡ *Wellesley Despatches*, iii., 446.

§ *Idem*, p. 446. General Lake, habitually so ready

fort of Powanghur, which overlooked the town of Champaneer, surrendered on the 17th of September.

The seizure of Cuttack was accomplished by detachments of the Madras and Bengal forces under Lieutenant-colonel Harcourt. The Brahmins of Juggernaut placed their famous pagoda under the protection of the British on the 18th of September; and the fall of Barabuttee, the fort of Cuttack, on the 14th of October, completed the reduction of the whole province.

In the subjection of Bundelcund, Lieutenant-colonel Powell was materially aided by Himmur Bahadur, the Hindoo leader previously mentioned, who joined the British detachment in the middle of September, with a force of about 14,000 men. The army of Shumsheer Bahadur made but feeble resistance, and on the 13th of October was driven across the river Betwa. Their chief eventually became a British stipendiary.

The concluding operations of the war were performed by the army under Major-general Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson. A detachment under the latter leader took possession of Boorhanpoor on the 15th of October, and two days after marched to besiege Ascerghur, called by the natives "the key of the Deccan." The fortress surrendered on the 21st, and with it the conquerors became masters of Sindia's Deccani possessions, including several dependent districts in Candeish. After a short time spent in pursuing the rajah of Berar, who retreated to his own dominions, and in receiving some overtures for peace, of an unsatisfactory character, from Sindia, General Wellesley descended the Ghauts on the 25th of November, with the intention of assisting Stevenson in the projected siege of Gawilghur. The junction was effected on the 29th of August, near the plains of Argaum, where the British commander, on reconnoitring, perceived with surprise the main army of the Berar rajah, comprising infantry, cavalry, and artillery, regularly drawn up, about six miles from the spot where he had himself intended to encamp. Sindia's force, consisting of one very heavy corps of cavalry, a body of Pindarries, and other light troops, supported those of Berar. It was late in the day, and the English were wearied with a long march under a burning

sun; yet their leader thought it best to take advantage of the opportunity rarely afforded of meeting the Mahrattas in a pitched battle. Forming two lines of infantry and cavalry, Major-general Wellesley advanced to the attack. A body of 500 foot, supposed to have been Persian mercenaries, rushed upon the 74th and 78th regiments with desperation, and were destroyed to a man. Sindia's horse charged the British sepoys, but were repulsed; after which the ranks of the enemy fell into confusion and fled, pursued by the British cavalry, assisted by auxiliary bodies of Mysoor and Mogul horse. The loss of the victors, in killed, wounded, and missing, was 346 men; that of the Mahrattas is nowhere stated, but must have been very considerable.

The siege of Gawilghur, invested on the 5th of December, involved no ordinary amount of labour and fatigue, in consequence of the difficulty of carrying the guns and stores to the point of attack. The outer fort was taken by storm on the 15th; the inner fort was escaladed by the light company of the 94th, headed by Captain Campbell, who opened the gates and admitted the rest of the assailants.*

The confederate chieftains had by this time become extremely solicitous for the termination of war. The rajah of Berar dispatched vakeels or envoys to the British camp the day after the battle of Argaum; but in consequence of the inveterate manœuvring and procrastination of the Mahrattas, even when really desirous of concluding a treaty, affairs were not finally arranged until the 17th of December. By the treaty of Deogaum, then signed, the rajah consented to surrender the province of Cuttack, including the district of Balasore, to the company, and to relinquish to the Nizam certain revenues extorted from him on various pretences. He further pledged himself to submit all differences which might arise between him and the Nizam or the peishwa to British arbitration, and promised to receive into his service no European or American subject of any state at war with the English, nor even any Englishman, without the express sanction of the governor-general.

Sindia had now no alternative but to

* The defence had been gallantly conducted by two Rajpoot leaders, whose bodies were found amid a heap of slain. Their wives and daughters were intended to have all shared their fate; but the ter-

rrible order had been imperfectly performed with steel weapons, instead of by the usual method of fire; and though several died, the majority being carefully tended, recovered of their wounds.—(*Wellesley Desp.*)

make peace on such terms as the conquerors thought fit to grant; and on the 30th of December he signed the treaty of Surjee Anjenganm in the British camp, by which he ceded his rights over the country between the Jumna and the Ganges (including the cities of Delhi and Agra), and to the northward of the Rajpoot principalities of Jeypoor and Joudpoor; also the forts of Ahmedabad and Broach, with their dependent districts. On the south he yielded Ahmednuggur to the peishwa, and some extensive districts to the Nizam. In return, the leading places conquered during the war, not above named, were restored to him. Shortly after this arrangement, Sindia entered the general alliance of which the British government formed the dominant portion, and agreed to receive a subsidiary British force, whose expenses were to be furnished from the revenue of the territories already ceded.

The leading objects of the war had been fully carried out, in accordance with the plans of the governor-general. Among the less conspicuous but important services rendered by Lake, were the formation of alliances with the rajahs of Jeypoor, Joudpoor, Boondi, and Macherry; with the Jat rajah of Bhurtpoor, the rana of Gohud, and Ambajee Inglia, the unfaithful successor of Perron in the service of Sindia.* Lord Wellesley was anxious to maintain the independence of the Rajpoot principalities against Mahratta aggressions, both as a matter of justice and policy. Their territories were guaranteed to them against external enemies, with immunity from tribute; but they were not to receive European officers into their service without the sanction of the British government, and were to defray the expense of any auxiliary force required to repel invaders from their dominions.

WAR WITH HOLCAR.—Despite so many brilliant victories, attended with such substantial results, the British armies could not quit the field. During the recent hostilities, Holcar had remained in Malwa, levying enormous contributions upon the adjoining provinces. The success of the British arms seems to have convinced him of his mistake in neglecting to co-operate with chiefs of his own nation against a power whose efforts were steadily directed to the sup-

pression of the predatory warfare by which he had reached, and could alone expect to maintain, his present position. When too late he bestirred himself to negotiate with the Rajpoots, the Bhurtpoor rajah, the Rohillas, the Seiks, and finally with Sindia, whom he recommended to break the humiliating treaty he had recently formed, and renew the war. But Sindia had suffered too severely in the late hostilities to provoke their repetition; and being, moreover, exasperated by the time-serving policy of Holcar,† he communicated these overtures to Major Malcolm, then resident in his camp. The inimical feelings entertained by Holcar, had been already manifested by the murder of three British officers in his service, on a false charge that one of them had corresponded with the commander-in-chief. Still it seemed highly improbable that he could seriously intend flinging the gauntlet at a nation whose military achievements had become the theme of every tongue in India; and the English authorities, anxious to bring matters to a speedy and amicable conclusion, invited him to send commissioners to their camp, to explain his views and desires. The Mahrattas are ever apt to treat conciliatory measures as symptomatic of weakness; and Holcar was probably influenced by some such consideration in framing the conditions for which his vakeels were instructed to stipulate with General Lake as the terms of peace, and which included leave to collect *chout* according to the custom of his ancestors, with the cession of Etawa and various other districts in the Doab and Bundelcund, formerly held by his family. Holcar had not without reason blamed Sindia for too exclusive attention to the rules of European discipline, and the neglect of the guerilla warfare which Sevajee and Bajee Rao had waged successfully against Aurungzebe. This was the weapon with which he now menaced the English, in the event of non-compliance with his demands. "Although unable," he said, "to oppose their artillery in the field, countries of many coss should be overrun, and plundered, and burnt; Lake should not have leisure to breathe for a moment, and calamities would fall on lacs of human beings in continued war by the attacks of his army, which would overwhelm like the waves of the sea."

* Sindia seized the Gohud province, and gave it in chage to Ambajee Inglia, who went over to the English. They kept Gwahor, and divided the rest of the province between the rana and Inglia.

† Ameer Khan was actually dispatched by Holcar to co-operate with Sindia; but the news of the battle of Assaye reached him on the march, and he returned as he came.—(Ameer Khan's *Memoirs*.)

Such a menace, from one of the most reckless and powerful marauders by whom the timid peasantry of Hindoostan were ever scourged, was tantamount to a declaration of war—a formality which, it may be remarked, forms no part of Mahratta warfare. Yet it was not till further indications appeared of his intention to commence hostilities at the first convenient moment, that the negotiation, which Holcar desired to gain time by protracting, was broken off, and Lord Lake and Major-general Wellesley directed to commence operations against him both in the north and the south. The governor-general entered on this new war with unaffected reluctance. Once commenced, it could not be arrested by an accommodation such as that entered into with Sindia; for a predatory power must, he thought, be completely neutralised, in justice to the peaceable subjects of more civilised governments. It was important to secure the cordial co-operation of the subsidiary and allied states against the common foe; and this was effected by the declaration of Lord Wellesley—that all territory conquered from Holcar should be divided among the British auxiliaries without reserve.

The opening of the campaign was disastrous. Major-general Wellesley could not advance in consequence of a famine which prevailed in the Deccan. Lake, after storming the fort of Rampoorra (16th May, 1804), was compelled to withdraw the main army into cantonments for the rainy season, leaving Colonel Monson, with five sepoy battalions and 3,000 irregular horse, to watch the movements of the foe. The proceedings of this commander were most unfortunate. Though "brave as a lion," he wanted decision of purpose and confidence in the native troops. After making an ill-advised entrance into the dominions of the enemy, he became alarmed at the reported approach of Holcar in person; and fearing the probable failure of supplies before the British could join the Guzerat force under Colonel Murray, he retreated forthwith. A retrograde movement on the part of British troops was proverbially more hazardous in native warfare than the boldest advance. Holcar eagerly followed, attacked and defeated the irregular cavalry left in the rear to forward intelligence of his proceedings, and summoned the main body to surrender. This being indignantly refused, furious and reiterated onsets were made by him on the sepoy battalions at the

Mokundra pass, which they resisted with steadiness and success, till, at evening, their assailants drew off a few miles. Monson, not considering his position tenable, continued the retreat; the native troops behaved admirably, and, though harassed by the enemy, and exposed to heavy rains, reached Kotah in two marches.

Kotah was a Rajpoot principality, originally formed of lands separated from Boondi. It remained for above a century and a-half of secondary importance, until it fell beneath the sway of Zalim Sing, a Rajpoot of the Jhala tribe, who governed under the name of regent—it would appear, with the full consent of the rightful prince or rana, Omeida Sing. Zalim Sing played a difficult part with extraordinary ability, and by dint of consummate art, perfect self-control, and unfailing energy, so steered the vessel of state, that while every other Rajpoot principality tottered under the effects of the furious attacks or undermining intrigues of the encroaching Mahrattas, Boondi, though ever first to bend to the storm, raised her head as soon as it had passed over, as if strengthened by the trial. Excessive humility and moderation formed the disguise beneath which the regent attained the position of a general arbitrator in the never-ceasing disputes of neighbouring governments, which he fostered under pretence of mediation. His deep duplicity did not preserve him from incurring strong personal hostility; and Tod, after narrating no less than eighteen attempts at his assassination, represents him as sleeping in an iron cage for security. At the time at which we have now arrived, "the Nestor of India" was about sixty-five years of age. His position was one of peculiar difficulty. To keep peace with Holcar he had paid dearly, both in money and character, having stooped to form an intimate alliance with Ameer Khan as a means of averting the scourge of indiscriminate plunder from the fertile fields of Boondi, great part of which were cultivated for his exclusive benefit; yet Colonel Monson, on his arrival with the weary and half-famished troops, demanded from the regent nothing less than their admission into the city, which could not be granted without creating great confusion and insuring the deadly vengeance of the Mahrattas. To the English, Zalim Sing was yet more unwilling to give offence. Their paramount authority was being daily augmented and consolidated; nor could he

doubt that Kotah, like other native principalities, would eventually do well to find in a dependent alliance on the dominant power, an alternative from complete extinction.* Even now, he was ready to make common cause with the retreating and dispirited troops, or to do anything for their succour, to the extent of his ability, outside the walls of Kotah; but the pertinacity of Monson in demanding admittance was unavailing, and the detachment marched on to Rampoor, through an inundated country barely traversable for the troops, and impracticable for cannon and stores, which were consequently destroyed and abandoned. A reinforcement sent with supplies by General Lake, gave temporary relief to the harassed soldiers, but could not remedy the incapacity of their commander; and after many more struggles and reverses,† attended with a complete loss of baggage on the road to Agra, the confusion of one very dark night brought matters to a climax; the troops fairly broke and fled in separate parties to the city, where the majority of the fugitives who escaped the pursuing cavalry, found an asylum on the 31st of July, 1804.

These proceedings increased the rabble force of Holcar tenfold. Adventurers and plunderers of all descriptions (including the wreck of the armies of Sindia and the Bhonslay) flocked to his standard; and after making the regent of Kotah pay a fine of ten lacs for his partial assistance of the English,‡ the Mahratta chief invaded their territories, at the head of an immense army,§ in the character of a conqueror. At his approach the British troops abandoned Muttra with its stores; but the fort was reoccupied by a detachment sent by General Lake, who had marched hastily from Cawnpore, in hopes of bringing the enemy to action. He was, however, completely outwitted by Holcar, who occupied the attention of the British general by manœuvring his cavalry; while his infantry, by

a rapid movement, succeeded in investing Delhi. The city, ten miles in circumference, had but a ruined wall, with scarcely more than 800 sepoy, for its defence; nevertheless, these troops, headed by Lieutenant-colonels Ochterlony and Burn, after nine days' operations, compelled a force of 20,000 men to raise the siege.|| Holcar, with his cavalry, withdrew to the Doab, whither he was followed by Lake, who, after a long pursuit, by marching fifty-three miles in twenty-four hours, eventually came up with the enemy on the 17th of November, under the walls of Furruckabad. The Indian horse never could stand a charge in the field; their leader knew this, and was himself the first to fly, followed by his panic-struck adherents, of whom 3,000 were cut to pieces by the victors, and the rest escaped only by the superior swiftness of their horses. The Mahratta chief made his way to Deeg, a strong fort belonging to Runjeet Sing of Bhurtpoor, a Jat leader, who, after the defeat of the detachment under Monson, had quitted the English, and joined the opposite interest.

The determined proceedings of Lake induced the confederate chiefs to evacuate Deeg and retreat to Bhurtpoor, a city not very formidable in appearance, of six to eight miles in circumference, defended by a high mud wall, and a broad ditch not easily fordable. But the rajah was skilful and desperate. Holcar had little to boast of; for while himself heading a defeated army in the field, his strongholds, in various quarters, had been reduced by the English; and a detachment of troops from Guzerat had occupied Indore, and were preparing to intercept his retreat. Still he was a marauder by profession, whose kingdom was in his saddle; whereas the Jat rajah truly declared he had no home but in his castle—every hope was bound up in its battlements. The defence was most determined; and even when a practicable breach had been effected, attempts to take the place by storm were neutralised by the ready inven-

* When Colonel Tod was employed in forming an alliance between the supreme government and the Kotah principality, he took an opportunity of assuring Zalim Sing that the English desired no more territory. The old politician smiled, as he answered—"I believe you think so; but the time will come when there will be but one sicca (stamp of sovereignty on coin) throughout India. You stepped in at a lucky time; the *p'foot* (a sort of melon, which bursts asunder when fully matured) was ripe, and you had only to take it bit by bit. It was not your power so much as our disunion that made you sovereigns, and will keep you so."—(*Rajasthan*, i., 766.)

† When the younger European officers were heart-sick, and well-nigh sinking with fatigue, the sepoy were frequently heard bidding them be of good cheer; for they would carry them safely to Agra.—(Duff.)

‡ Zalim Sing and Holcar (both one-eyed men) met in boats on the Chumbul, each fearing treachery.

§ According to Malcolm, Holcar's army comprised 92,000 men (66,000 cavalry, 7,000 artillery, 19,000 infantry), with 190 guns.—(*Central India*, i., 238.)

|| The sepoy were on duty day and night. To keep up their spirits under incessant fatigue, Ochterlony had sweetmeats served out, and promised them half a month's pay when the enemy was repulsed.

tion of the besieged. Stockades and bulwarks rose as if by magic to blockade the breach; the moat was rendered unfordable by dams; and, during the attack, pots filled with combustibles, and burning cotton-bales steeped in oil, were flung upon the heads of the assailants. The British were four times repulsed, with a total loss of 3,203 men in killed and wounded; nor did even their highly-prized military reputation escape unimpaired. On one occasion, the famous 76th, in conjunction with the 75th, refused to follow their officers after the 12th Bengal sepoy had planted the colours on the top of the rampart. The bitter reproaches of their general recalled them to a sense of duty, and, overpowered with shame, they entreated to be led to a last attack, in which they displayed much desperate but unavailing courage. The operations of the siege were for a time intermitted to procure further reinforcements. The rajah, convinced that his destruction, however temporarily retarded, was but a question of time, offered twenty laes of rupees, with other concessions, as the price of peace, and the proposal was accepted, although at the risk of leaving on the minds of the natives a dangerous example of successful resistance. The advanced state of the season, the fear of the hot winds, together with the menacing attitude of Sindia, then under the influence of his father-in-law, the notorious Shirjee Rao Ghatgay, were sufficient reasons for refraining from engaging the flower of the British army, at a critical period, in a contest with a desperate man, who, if mildly treated, might be neutralised at once. The son of the rajah of Bhurtpoor was therefore taken as a hostage for the fidelity of his father, and the restoration of the fortress of Deeg held forth as its reward. The force of Holcar had been reduced by desertion, more than by actual loss, to less than a fourth of its number at the opening of the campaign. The separate treaty entered into by the rajah of Bhurtpoor left him no hope but in the co-operation of Sindia, who affected to be desirous of mediating with the British government on his behalf. The power of both chiefs was, however, broken, and few obstacles remained towards a general pacification, on terms very advantageous to the English; when their whole policy was abruptly changed by the passing of the office of governor-general from the hands of the Marquis Wellesley into those of Lord Cornwallis, in 1805.

As early as January, 1802, Lord Wellesley had signified to the Court of Directors his desire of quitting India. The motives for the proffered resignation were various. They included several acts, on the part of the directory, which the marquis deemed derogatory to the reputation of himself and his brothers, as well as to that of his stanch coadjutor, Lord Clive, the governor of Madras; but the chief ground of complaint was the disfavour shown to his favourite scheme of founding a college at Calcutta, for the express instruction of young civilians in the description of knowledge absolutely requisite for the fulfilment of their allotted duties. The glaring ignorance of native languages evinced by European rulers, had long been a manifest hindrance to the good government of the people of India, as well as a bar to the kindly intercourse which might otherwise have subsisted. It was this primary defect which the marquis hoped to rectify, and at the same time to infuse into the youths of the service something of the *esprit de corps*, which he remembered with such vivid pleasure to have existed at Eton. The *College of Fort William* was his favourite project. The company did not deny the want of systematic instruction, which was daily more painfully felt; but they could not be brought to consent to the expenditure which Lord Wellesley deemed absolutely needful to fulfil the double object of educating Europeans and affording encouragement to native talent. The Board of Control supported the views of Lord Wellesley; but the project was, after all, but very imperfectly carried out, so far as the Indian population was concerned: for the instruction of civilians destined to serve the E. I. Cy., a college (Haileybury) was founded in England a few years later. Another cause which rendered the governor-general unpopular with his employers, was his deliberate and avowed opinion in favour of the extension of trade with England to India-built shipping, instead of confining it solely to the chartered vessels of the E. I. Cy. Despite the obvious policy, as well as justice, of this measure, as the only means of preventing Indian commerce from finding its way to Europe by more objectionable channels, "the shipping interest," then greatly predominant in the counsels of the company, violently opposed any alteration which should trench on their monopoly, and contrived, in many ways, to render Lord Wel-

lesley sensible of their unfriendly feelings. Nevertheless, his proffered resignation was deprecated by an entreaty to remain at least another year, to settle the newly-acquired territories, and concert with the home authorities the foundation of an efficient system for the liquidation of the Indian debt. The renewal of war with the Marhattas, despite the brilliant success with which it was attended, could not but involve an increase of immediate expenditure, though compensated by a more than proportionate augmentation of territory. But the investments were impeded; and a failure in the annual supplies was ill borne by the company, however advantageous the promise of ulterior advantages; consequently, a clamour arose against the marquis as a war-governor, which decided his recall at the time when all material obstacles were removed, and his whole energies directed towards the attainment of a solid and durable peace. He had been sent out for the express purpose of eradicating French influence, an object which he had completely accomplished, though, of necessity, at the cost of much war and more diplomacy.*

The Wellesley administration—from 1798 to 1805—formed a new era in the annals of the E. I. Cy. Principles of honour and public spirit were engrafted which bore much fruit in after days; and many a friendless cadet of the civil and military service found in rapid promotion the direct reward of talent and integrity. Nay, more; there are honoured veterans still with us, who, after the lapse of half a century, delight to attribute their success to the generous encouragement or kindly warnings of the good and gifted Marquis Wellesley.†

Perfect toleration was his leading rule; nevertheless, he did not hesitate to interfere for the suppression of such heathen customs as were manifestly incompatible with the spirit of a Christian government; such as the frightful amount of infanticide annually

* Into his minor measures, especially the restrictions placed on the liberty of the press, it is not practicable to enter: the motives for some of them were purely political—to check the conveyance of dangerous information, or lying rumours to foreign states; while the edict forbidding the publication of newspapers on Sundays, had the double object of reverence for the sabbath and a desire to show the nations, that not only the missionaries, but the Europeans in general had a religion—a fact which might well have been doubted.

† The rising talent of the civil service was called out in a peculiar manner by Lord Wellesley. The youths of the three presidencies, who had distin-

committed at the mouth of the Ganges. Neither was he withheld, by timid or sectarian views, from affording liberal encouragement to the able and zealous men (Buchanan and Carey, for instance) who had devoted themselves to the office of Christian missionaries. To all around him engaged in the cause of religion or good government, he extended cordial sympathy as fellow-workers; and if a shadow of blame can be cast on his ever-discriminating praise, it would be that of having been sometimes too liberally bestowed. But the full measure of love and confidence he gave so freely, was returned into his own bosom. Military and civil officials, of all ranks and classes—from the Earl of Elgin, at Constantinople, and Lord Clive, at Madras, to the humblest clerk—vied in affording the fullest and most correct information for the use of the governor-general; and the merchants and bankers seconded his measures in the most effective manner by furnishing government loans on the lowest possible terms. At the close of the administration of Sir John Shore, it had been difficult to raise money on usurious interest; but the Marquis Wellesley, on the eve of a hazardous war, found men who could appreciate the policy of his measures, and make them practicable, even at considerable pecuniary risk.‡

The general feeling in India was, unhappily, not appreciated or shared in England. The marquis returned, after an arduous and brilliantly successful administration, to find the uncertain tide of popular feeling turned against him. The British public were well acquainted with the aggressive and grasping policy of Hastings, and the manner in which he had made the weakness or wickedness of native princes conduce to the aggrandisement of his employers or his own personal interest. It was a very natural conclusion to be arrived at by persons ignorant of the general disorganisation of India, that a governor who had added hun-

guished themselves in their examinations at the college of Fort William, were placed in the secretary's office of the governor-general, and educated under his immediate care for the respective departments, for the duties of which they were best fitted. Of those thus brought forward, three (Metcalf, Adams, and Butterworth Bayley) became acting governors-general; and the majority attained high positions in India and in England.

‡ Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Forbes, the head of the well-known firm at Bombay, was the chief of those who, by taking up government paper at par, as well as furnishing supplies, restored the confidence of the wealthy natives in the stability of the E. I. Cy.

dreds of miles and thousands of subjects to an empire, which Hastings had been stigmatised as an usurper and oppressor for increasing by units and tens, must have been guilty of the same sins in an aggravated degree. Besides, the augmentation of territory and population had been effected in the teeth of a parliamentary prohibition of the most decided character. The oldest and ablest Indian politicians vainly strove to show the utter impracticability of neutrality, and argued that England, now the dominant power, could not relinquish her high position in measure, but must, of necessity, abandon territorial sovereignty and commercial advantage in almost equal degree. The company were smarting beneath the expenses of a war, which a little patience would have brought to the most satisfactory conclusion, by the prostration of the predatory power, which was equally opposed to all regular governments, foreign or native. But no! an immediate compromise was the order of the day; the withdrawal of the plundering Mahrattas from the company's territories was a relief to be obtained upon any terms, even by a direct violation of the pledge voluntarily given to the Rajpoot states to maintain their independence against their marauding foes. What matter if all Rajasthan were overrun by these eastern Goths. The company's investments would go on meanwhile; and when Sindia and Holcar had quite exhausted all outside the magic circle, it would be time enough to devise some other sop wherewith to engage them. This selfish policy, disguised by the few who understood the real state of the case by much abstract reasoning regarding the admitted justice of non-interference in general, deceived many good men and raised a strong, though short-lived clamour, against the champion of the opposite system. The feeling of certain leaders in the directory, joined with party politics of a very discreditable description in the ministry, found a channel in the person of a *ci-devant* trader named Paull, who, having accumulated a large fortune in India, came to England and entered parliament in the character of impeacher of the Marquis Wellesley, to whom, by his own account, he owed heavy obligations, and entertained, in common with the generality of Anglo-Indians, "the highest respect." The leading accusations were aggressions on native states: extravagance and disregard of home authorities,—at peculation or venality, not even

calumny dared hint. The first charge regarding Oude was thrown out by the House of Commons, and the accuser died by his own hand, prompted by vexation or remorse. Lord Folkstone strove to carry on the impeachment by moving a series of condemnatory resolutions, which were negatived by a majority of 182 to 31, and followed by a general vote of approbation. Thus ended, in May, 1808, a persecution which cost the noble marquis £30,000, and excluded him from office during its continuance; for, with rare delicacy, he refused repeated solicitations to re-enter the service of the Crown until the pending question should be satisfactorily settled. He lived to see the general recognition of the wisdom of his policy; and on the publication of his *Despatches* in 1834-'5, the E. I. Cy. made the *amende honorable*, by the unusual procedure of the erection of his statue in the E. I. House,* a grant of £20,000, and the circulation of his *Despatches* for the instruction and guidance of their servants in India. He died beloved and honoured, aged eighty-three; having twice filled the office of viceroy of Ireland—been secretary of state for foreign affairs; beside other distinguished positions. This is not the place to tell of the efficient manner in which the illustrious brothers worked together for the defeat of the national foe, Napoleon: here we have to do with the marquis as an Indian governor; in that character let the pen of the historian of the E. I. Cy. speak his merits. "The Marquis Wellesley was ambitious; but his ambition sought gratification not in mere personal aggrandisement, but in connecting his own fame with that of the land to which he belonged, and of the government which he administered,—in the diffusion of sound and liberal knowledge, and the extension of the means of happiness among millions of men who knew not his person, and some of them scarcely his name. That name is, however, stamped for ever on their history. The British government in India may pass away—its duration, as far as human means are concerned, will depend on the degree in which the policy of the Marquis Wellesley is maintained or abandoned—but whatever its fate, or the length of its existence, the name and memory of the greatest statesman by whom it was ever administered are imperishable."†

* Lord Wellesley remarked, that to witness this compliment (rarely paid until after death), was "like having a peep at one's own funeral."

† Thornton's *India*, iii., 575.

SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF LORD CORNWALLIS.—The new governor arrived at Fort William in July, 1805, and immediately assumed the reins of office. The interval of thirteen years between his resignation and resumption of authority in India, had told heavily on his strength of mind as well as of body, and the once indefatigable commander-in-chief returned to the scene of his former successes a worn and weary man, fast sinking to the grave under the infliction of chronic dysentery. Yet the English authorities, in accordance with popular opinion, declared him to be the only man fit to curb and limit the too extensive dominion obtained by the late administration in conjunction with the gallant Lake, whose services, though their effects were denounced, had been acknowledged by a peerage.

Lord Cornwallis had given proof of moderation by suffering Tippoo to purchase peace with a third of his revenues, and had rather relaxed than straitened the connexion of the E. I. Cy. with various native states. Despite the unsatisfactory results of his arrangements, and still more so of those formed by Sir John Shore, the Directory and Board of Control agreed in reverting to the non-intervention system, and urged the arduous office of effecting an immediate and total change of policy upon the ex-governor-general with so much vehemence, that he, from self-denying but mistaken views of duty, would not suffer failing health to excuse the non-fulfilment of what, with strange infatuation, was pressed on him as a public duty. It is not easy to understand the process of reasoning by which Lord Cornwallis was led to adopt such extreme opinions regarding the measures to be taken towards Sindia and Holcar. He had warmly approved the arrangements of the Marquis Wellesley regarding the occupation of Seringapatam and the complete suppression of the usurping dynasty; yet, now the arrogant and aggressive Sindia, and the predatory Holcar were to be conciliated, not simply by the surrender of a succession of dearly-purchased conquests, but by the renunciation of alliance with the Rajpoot and other states, who had taken part with the British forces against the marauding Mahrattas in the late crisis.

Sindia had suffered, if not caused, the English residency attached to his camp to be attacked and plundered by a body of Pindarries, and had himself detained Mr. Jenkins; yet no reparation was to be de-

manded for this outrage: and the governor-general, in his impatient desire to conclude a peace, would even have waived insisting upon the release of the resident; but from this last degrading concession the English were happily saved by the intervention of Lord Lake. Nothing could exceed the indignation of the brave and honest general on learning the nature of the proposed treaty, which he felt to be based on the unworthy principle of conciliating the strong at the expense of the weak. The territories conquered from Holcar had been distinctly promised to be divided among the allies of England; instead of which, they were all to be restored to the defeated chief; and the breach of faith thus committed towards the only power able to resent it, was to be repaired at the expense of the powerless raja of Gohud, who had made over Gwalior to the English on being enrolled among the list of subsidiary princes. He was now to be reduced to the condition of a mere stipendiary, dependent on his hereditary foe for subsistence; for all Gohud, including Gwalior, was to be given to propitiate the favour of Sindia—"an act," writes the governor-general, "entirely gratuitous on our part." Equally so was the renunciation of our connexion with the numerous rajahs, zemindars, jaghiredars, and other chiefs on the further side of the Jumna, for whose protection the British faith had been solemnly pledged. Lord Lake, who had been mainly instrumental in forming the majority of these alliances, and had, in his capacity of commander-in-chief, received material assistance from several of the parties concerned, addressed an earnest remonstrance to the governor-general against the proposed repudiation, declaring that the weaker allied princes never could be induced by any argument or temporary advantage to renounce the promised support of the E. I. Cy., and that the bare proposition would be viewed "as a prelude to their being sacrificed to the object of obtaining a peace with the Mahrattas." This communication bore date the day following that on which Lord Cornwallis expired. For some time before his death, he passed the morning hours in a state of weakness amounting to insensibility; but the evening usually brought him sufficient strength to hear despatches read, and even to dictate replies. Had the energetic appeal and arguments of Lake been sent a few days earlier, they might perhaps have been instrumental in delaying and modifying the

ungenerous and selfish measures which cost England so dearly in character and blood and treasure, by strengthening the predatory power it was alike her duty and her interest to abase. It is hardly possible that the man who steadily befriended the rajah of Coorg, even at the hazard of renewing a perilous war with Tippoo, could seriously intend to abandon the Rajpoot and other princes to the shameless marauders against whom they had recently co-operated with the English, unless prejudice and ignorance, aided by mental debility, had blinded him to the plain facts of the case. But whatever effect the honest exposition of Lake was calculated to produce on the mind of Lord Cornwallis, can be only surmised from his habitual conscientiousness. He had been extremely desirous of personally superintending the progress of the negotiations, and hoped by short and easy stages to reach headquarters; but at Ghazipoor near Benares, an accession of weakness stopped his journey, and after lingering some time in the state previously described, he died there October 5th, 1805, aged sixty-six years.

No provision had been made by the home government to meet this highly probable event.* Sir George Barlow, the senior member of council, on whom the chief authority temporarily devolved, had been associated with Lord Wellesley throughout his whole administration, and cordially seconded his lordship's views regarding subsidiary alliances. During the last illness of Lord Cornwallis, while hourly expecting his own accession to power, Sir George had expressed in writing "his confident hope that an accommodation would be effected with Sindia and with Holcar, on terms not differing essentially from those to which he was aware that Lord Wellesley was prepared to accede." Most certainly his lordship would never have consented to an accommodation which involved a direct breach of faith with numerous weak states. Sir George must have known this; but his conduct was in perfect accordance with the principle which enabled a certain well-known individual "to

live and die vicar of Bray." The result was, however, less satisfactory; for though the E. I. directors were inclined to reward implicit obedience to their mandates with the highest position in their gift, the ministers of the crown were not equally compliant; and although they also were desirous of purchasing peace on any terms, the recent appointment was neutralised, and a rule laid down that thenceforth no servant of the company should fill the office of governor-general. Sir George was placed in charge of Madras; but before his removal from Calcutta he had contrived to neutralise, as far as possible, the effects of the measures which he had assisted in enacting; his avowed expectation being that the native states, when left to themselves, would forthwith engage in a series of conflicts which would, for the present at least, keep them fully employed, and prevent the renewal of hostilities with the English. Sindia† and Holcar received the proffered concessions with unmixed astonishment at the timidity or vacillation of their lately dreaded foe. The Rajpoot and other princes indignantly remonstrated against the renunciation of an alliance pressed upon them by the British government in her hour of need. The rajah of Jeypoor, who had especially provoked the vengeance of the Mahrattas, felt deeply aggrieved by the faithlessness with which he was treated, and his bitter reproaches were conveyed to Lord Lake through the mouth of a Rajpoot agent at Delhi. Disgusted at being made the instrument of measures which he denounced, and at the almost‡ total disregard manifested towards his representations, Lord Lake resigned his diplomatic powers in January, 1806, and after about twelve months spent in completing various necessary arrangements regarding the forces, and settling, agreeably to the instructions of the government, the claims of various native chiefs, he quitted India, leaving behind him a name that will be honoured and beloved so long as the Indian army shall subsist.§ He died in England, 21st February, 1808, aged 64.

* Lord Grenville publicly stated, that it had been generally supposed in London that Lord Cornwallis would not bear the voyage; and, in any case, could not long survive his arrival in India.—(Thornton.)

† One of the few concessions demanded from Sindia was the exclusion from office of his father-in-law; but even this was eventually renounced, and Shirzee Rao became again paramount. Happily his audacity at length grew offensive to Sindia, and an altercation took place which enabled the attendants,

under pretence of securing the person, to take the life of a miscreant whose memory is still execrated in Poona for the cruel oppression practised there.

‡ Lord Lake was so far successful, that his representations against the immediate danger, as well as faithlessness, of dissolving the alliance with the rajahs of Macherri and Bhurtpoor, induced Sir George to delay the execution of a determination which he nevertheless declared to be unchanged.

§ Major-general Wellesley, after receiving a

Little difference of opinion now exists regarding the accommodation effected with the Mahrattas. The non-intervention policy was soon abandoned; but its results justify the declaration of Grant Duff, that the measures of Sir George Barlow were no less short-sighted and contracted than selfish and indiscriminating. His provisional administration terminated in July, 1807,* its concluding event being an alarming mutiny among the native troops in the Carnatic. The immediate cause was the enforcement of certain frivolous changes of dress, together with other orders trivial in character, but involving a needless interference with the manners and customs of the soldiery, which had been introduced without the knowledge of Lord William Bentinck, the successor of Lord Clive in the government of Madras. "The new regulations required the sepoys to appear on parade with their chins clean shaved, and the hair on the upper lip cut after the same pattern, and never to wear the distinguishing mark of caste, or their earrings when in uniform. A turban of a new pattern was also ordered for the sepoys."[†]

These ill-advised changes might possibly have been accomplished without occasioning any serious disturbance, had a cordial understanding subsisted between the British and the native officers. But this was not the case; and the consequence of the alienation existing between them was, that the sons of Tippoo Sultan, then resident at Vellore, took advantage of the princely income and unusual degree of liberty allowed them as state prisoners, to assemble a large band of adherents, who made it their business to inspire the soldiery with aversion to their foreign masters, on the ground that the newly-devised turban, and its concomitants, though ostensibly ordered for the sake of convenience and unanimity, were really the tokens and forerunners of a forcible conversion to Christianity. The assertion was an utter absurdity. The Hindoos themselves, whose creed makes no provision for con-

verts, were scarcely more devoid of proselytising zeal than the English had shown themselves, despite the opposite tendency of a religion which directs its professors "to preach the gospel to all nations." The military officers had, as a body (for there were exceptions), no need to defend themselves against any imputation of over-anxiety to manifest the excellencies of their faith in their lives and conversation, or by any encouragement of missionary labours. Of Christianity the natives in the vicinity of Vellore knew nothing, and were consequently ready to believe just anything, except that its divine Founder had enjoined on all his disciples a code so fraught with humility, chastity, and brotherly kindness, that if observed it must infallibly render Christians a blessing to every state, whether as rulers or as subjects.

Rumours of the growing disaffection were abroad, but excited little attention in the ears of those most concerned. Unmistakable symptoms of mutiny appeared, and were forcibly put down, until, on the 10th of July, 1806, the European part of the Vellore garrison were attacked by their native colleagues, and Colonel Faneourt and 112 Europeans had perished or been mortally wounded, before Colonel Gillespie, at the head of a body of dragoons, terminated a contest which involved the destruction of about 350 of the mutineers, and the imprisonment of 500 more. Lord William Bentinck became the sacrifice of measures adopted without his sanction, and was recalled, together with the commander-in-chief, Sir John Cradock. The obnoxious orders were repealed, the allowances of the sons of Tippoo were diminished, their place of imprisonment changed from Vellore to Bengal; and, by slow degrees, the panic wore off. The captive insurgents were gradually set at liberty; the cheerful obedience of the men, and their customary fidelity to those whose salt they ate, returned; and the British officers "ceased to sleep with pistols under their pillows."[§]

knighthood of the Order of the Bath, quitted India in 1805, ill-pleased with the manner in which the services of his brother and himself were received.

* Mill's *History of British India* terminates with the peace with the Mahrattas. In an able, but prejudiced, and without the comments of Prof. Wilson, misleading summary of the commercial results of the Wellesley administration, the revenues are shown to have been raised from £8,059,880, in 1805-6, to £15,403,409; but the war expenditure, with the interest on the increased debt, which had been tripled,

caused the annual charges to exceed the receipts by above two million. This was a temporary addition, but the revenues of the conquered territories were a permanent gain, viewed as so certain, that Barlow held forth the prospect of a million sterling as the annual surplus, to follow immediately on the restoration of peace.

† Auber's *India*, ii., 432.

‡ The severe coercion employed may be conjectured from the fact that 900 lashes each were inflicted upon two grenadiers for refusing to wear the "hat-shaped" turban.

§ Bentinck's *Memorial*.

ADMINISTRATION OF LORD MINTO—1806 to 1813.—The new governor-general (formerly Sir Gilbert Elliot) came to India strongly prepossessed in favour of a neutral policy, but was speedily compelled to modify his views.

Holear, on his return to Malwa, found occupation in quelling the disturbances arising from the non-payment of arrears to his turbulent followers, who made use of the boy, Kundee Rao, to intimidate his unele into the liquidation of their claims. The object being accomplished, the child became, as he had himself predicted, the victim of the wrath of Jeswunt Rao; and Casee Rao died suddenly soon after, having been likewise, it was supposed, assassinated to prevent the possibility of the rights of any legitimate descendant of Tukajee being brought into collision with those of Jeswunt Rao. These and other atrocities were the forerunners of madness, which appeared in temporary paroxysms, with intervals of partial sanity, employed by Jeswunt in making extensive military preparations, especially in casting cannon, a work which he superintended night and day, using stimulants to supply the place of food and rest. It soon became necessary to confine him; and twenty to thirty men with difficulty succeeded in binding the despot fast with ropes, like a wild beast. His fierce struggles gradually subsided into speechless fatuity, and, at the expiration of three years, during the greater part of which he was fed like an infant with milk, the dreaded freebooter died a miserable idiot in his own camp, on the 20th of October, 1811.* Before his insanity, Holear had taken advantage of the withdrawal of British protection to ravage and pillage the states of Rajast'han, especially Jeypoor or Amber, under the old pretext of exacting arrears of chout. The quarrels of the Rajpoot princes gave full scope for his treacherous interference. The hand of Crishna Kumari, the high-born daughter of the rana of Oodipoor, was an object of dispute between Juggut Sing of Jeypoor, and Maun Sing of Joudpoor. Holear was bought off by Juggut Sing, but this arrangement did not prevent him from suffering his general, Ameer Khan, to hire his services to the opposite party. The chief commenced his task by ridding the rajah of Joudpoor of a rebellious feudatory, named

Sevaee Sing, whom he deluded, by oaths and protestations of friendship, into visiting his camp. The intended victim entered the spacious tent of the Patan with a body of friends and attendants, and was received with every demonstration of respect. Ameer Khan invented a plausible pretext for a short absence, and caused the cords of the tent to be suddenly loosened; then, taking advantage of the confusion, he ordered a sharp fire of musketry and grape to be poured indiscriminately on the whole of the crowded assembly. The massacre was complete; and not only the companions of the betrayed Rajpoot, but those of Ameer Khan himself, with a party of dancing-girls and musicians, were mercilessly sacrificed. The rana of Oodipoor was seriously alarmed by the enmity of so unprincipled an adversary. He vainly appealed to the British government, as possessing the paramount authority in India, to interfere for the protection of their oppressed neighbour: his entreaties, like those of Zalin Sing, were disregarded, and the proud representative of the Surya race (the offspring of the sun) was compelled to fraternise with the infamous Patan adventurer by the exchange of turbans, as well as to subsidise his troops at the cost of a fourth of the revenues of the principality. This was in itself deep abasement, but worse remained behind. Ameer Khan, in conjunction with Ajeet Sing, a Rajpoot noble, whose memory is, for his conduct on this occasion, execrated throughout Rajast'han, succeeded in convincing the unhappy rana, that the death of his child was absolutely necessary to save the principality from destruction at the hands of the rival suitors. With his consent, poison was mixed with the food of the princess; but she ate sparingly, and its murderous purpose was not accomplished. The high-spirited girl, on discovering the design thus temporarily frustrated, bade her father attempt no more concealment, since, if his welfare and the safety of the state required it, she was ready to die by her own act. Accordingly, having bathed and dressed, as if for a nuptial feast, she drank off the poison. The first two draughts proved harmless, for nature revolted, and the noxious beverage was rejected; but the third time a more insidious preparation was administered, and Crishna

* Holear was of middle height, remarkably strong and active. A small but handsome mausoleum was erected to his memory near Rampoor, and his favourite horse ranged in freedom around it. Tod describes

this animal with enthusiasm, as the very model of a Mahratta charger, with small and pointed ears, full protruding eyes, and a mouth that could drink out of a tea-cup.—(*Rajast'han*, ii., 720.)

slept to wake no more in this life. Her mother died of grief; her father survived to endure the galling reproaches of some of his most faithful chiefs; and Oodipoor, so far from benefiting by the unnatural crime, lost from that hour its remaining glories.*

Ameer Khan, elated by success, grew more daring in his plans; and, attended by large bodies of Pindarries, undertook, in 1809, an expedition against the indolent and effeminate rajah of Berar. Lord Minto became alarmed by the probable subversion of the principality, and, departing from the non-intervention policy, sent a strong detachment for the defence of Nagpoor, and notified to the invader that the territories of the rajah were under British protection. A blustering and defiant reply was returned, upon which Colonel Close marched into Malwa, and occupied Seronje, the capital of Ameer Khan, with other of his possessions. The strict commands of the home authorities, together with considerations of finance, prevented the governor-general from following up these vigorous measures by the complete overthrow of "one of the most notorious villains India ever produced;"† and the immediate safety of Berar having been secured, Ameer Khan was suffered to escape with undiminished powers of mischief. Before the close of his administration, Lord Minto had reason to repent this mistaken lenity. Berar was again invaded, and one quarter of the capital burnt by the Patan and Pindarry freebooters, a party of whom proceeded to set at nought British authority, by an irruption into the fertile province of Mirzapoor. The advisability of reverting to the bold and generous policy of the Marquis Wellesley became evident; and Lord Minto, whose term of office had nearly expired, urged upon the directors the necessity of vigorous measures. Indeed,

* Malcolm's *Central India*, i., 340. Tod's *Rajast'han*, i., 466. Malcolm states, that the circumstances attending the death of the princess excited loud and bitter wailing throughout the city of Oodipoor. An aged chief, named Sugwan Sing, having heard of the intended sacrifice, mounted his horse and rode with breathless haste to the palace. He found the rana and his counsellors seated in solemn silence; and to his impetuous inquiry, whether Crishna were alive or dead, Ajeet Sing, the instigator of the tragedy, replied by an injunction to respect the affliction of a bereaved parent. Sugwan Sing unbuckled his sword and shield, and laid them at the feet of the rana, saying, "my ancestors have served yours for more than thirty generations, but these arms can never more be used on your behalf;" then turning to Ajeet Sing, he reproached him with having brought ignominy on the Rajpoot name, add-

the leading acts of Lord Minto himself were neither of a strictly defensive nor neutral character. Sir George Barlow's withdrawal of protection from the petty chiefs south of the Sutlej, had tempted a neighbouring potentate, with whom the company had heretofore no connexion, to extend his conquests in that direction. The leader in question was the famous Runjeet Sing, rajah of Lahore, a Seik chief of Jat descent. To prevent further aggression, the minor Seik powers menaced by him were declared under British supremacy, and a strong force assembled for their defence. Runjeet Sing, unwilling to provoke a contest, concluded a treaty with the company, by which he consented never to maintain a larger body of troops on the left bank of the Sutlej than was needful to support his authority already established in that quarter. As a further guarantee for his good faith, a detachment, under Sir David Ochterlony,‡ took up a permanent station at Loodiana, on the eastern side of the river.

The multiplied aggressions of France on the vessels of the E. I. Cy., and the fear of attempts to regain a territorial position in India, induced the dispatch of embassies to Persia§ and Cabool, for the sake of forming a more intimate alliance with those kingdoms. The Mauritius, Bourbon, and the Moluccas were captured by the British in 1810; and Java, with its dependencies, was conquered by Lord Minto, in person,|| in 1811. Of these valuable acquisitions, Bourbon, the beautiful island of Java, and the Moluccas, were relinquished at the general pacification in 1815.

Some few remaining incidents of importance, which occurred in the time of Lord Minto, remain to be chronicled. The first of these is the death of the aged emperor Shah Alum, in 1806, aged eighty-

ing, as he quitted the assembly, "May the curse of a father light upon you—may you die childless." The malediction excited considerable attention, and the successive deaths of all the children of the guilty noble, were viewed as its fulfilment.

† Tod's *Rajast'han*, i., 468.

‡ Sir David Ochterlony and Runjeet Sing, like Holcar and Zalim Sing, were both one-eyed men.

§ Sir John Malcolm was sent to Persia by E. I. Cy.; Sir Harford Jones and Sir G. Ouseley, by the Crown.

|| Lord Minto had been compelled to visit Madras in 1809, in consequence of the strong dissatisfaction which prevailed among the European officers, arising from reduced allowances; but greatly aggravated by the dogged and tyrannical proceedings of the governor, Sir George Barlow. By a judicious blending of firmness and conciliation, Lord Minto succeeded in allaying an alarming tumult.

three. He was succeeded in his titular authority by his eldest son, Akber Shah, who made some feeble attempts at the acquisition of real power, but soon renounced the futile endeavour. The exertions of the Travancore authorities in 1809, to throw off the yoke of the E. I. Cy., involved some destruction of life, but terminated in the principality becoming completely dependent on Fort St. George. The tribute exacted from Cochin was also largely increased.

The last feature was an impending rupture with the Goorkas, a tribe who had come into notice about the middle of the eighteenth century, and had gradually assumed a dominant influence over the whole of the extensive valley of Nepaul. During the second administration of Lord Cornwallis, they had completed the attainment of territory (less by violence than by fraud and corruption) which presented, on the side of the English, a frontier of 700 miles. Disputes had arisen between the Goorkas and certain chiefs, who, through the cessions made by the vizier of Oude, or other arrangements, had become British feudatories. The so-called pacific policy of Lord Wellesley's successors had emboldened aggression in all quarters; and the seizure of Bhootwal (a border district of the ancient vicerealty of Oude) was followed by renewed invasion; until, in 1813, a new turn was given to affairs by the demand of the English authorities for the immediate surrender of the usurped territories. Before an answer could arrive from the court of Nepaul, the reins of government passed from the hands of Lord Minto, who returned to England, where he died (June, 1814), aged sixty-five. He was an able and energetic man; and the removal of his prejudices paved the way for a similar change of feeling on the part of his countrymen.*

MOIRA, OR HASTINGS' ADMINISTRATION, 1813 to 1823.—Lord Moira reached Calcutta in October, and, in the following month, received the tardy reply of the Goorkalese sovereign to the demand of Lord Minto for the evacuation of Bhootwal and Sheoraj. It was complimentary in manner, but uncompromising in substance. There were many reasons for avoiding immediate hostilities in this quarter, and attempts were made to settle the question by amica-

ble negotiation; but the persistence of the commissioners from Nepaul in reviving points previously settled, being at length silenced by a positive refusal to enter on such discussions, the British agent was warned to quit the frontier; and the envoys were recalled to Katmandoo, the capital of Nepaul. Lord Moira was too anxious to avert a frontier war, to give place to hasty resentment; and he addressed a remonstrance to the Nepaulese government regarding the insulting manner in which the late negotiation had been broken off. No answer being returned to this communication, a detachment was sent from Goruckpoor to occupy the disputed lands, an object which was effected without opposition. The British troops placed the direction of affairs in the hands of native officials, and withdrew, congratulating themselves on the easy fulfilment of an unpromising task.

The position of the northern mountaineers was but very imperfectly understood by the Calcutta functionaries, who now wielded the sceptre of the Mogul. During the palmy days of the empire, while the reins of government were held by too firm a hand for servants to appropriate to themselves the delegated sway of the sovereign, the plains at the foot of the mountains, between the river Teesta on the east and the Sutlej on the west, had been possessed by numerous petty Hindoo rajahs, who became tributary to the emperor, and received, in return, protection from the aggressions of the lawless hill-chiefs, most of whom maintained their independence, though some were content to own a sort of vassalage to the empire, in return for the possession of a portion of the magnificent forest of *Sal* trees, and of the rich plain called the *Turaee*, lying between them and Hindoostan. The old highland rajahs, whose families had warred with their lowland countrymen from time immemorial, held their own during the continuance and after the decline of Mohammedan power, until one of themselves, an aspiring chief, named Prithi Narayan Sah,† rajah of the small state of Goorka, to the north-west of Nepaul, incited by the early victories of the English in Bengal, armed and disciplined a body of troops after the European fashion, and proceeded to absorb the surrounding states, in a manner described as closely

* In 1813, an attempt to impose a house-tax occasioned great excitement in the holy city of Benares: the people practised a singularly combined, and eventually successful system, of passive resistance.

† According to Col. Kirkpatrick, the Goorka dynasty claim descent from the ranas of Oodipoor. Hamilton states, they belong to the Magar tribe, which has but very partially yielded to Brahminism.

resembling that which had rendered the nation he imitated masters of India. The nabob of Moorshedabad, Meer Cossim Ali, attempted to interfere on behalf of some of the weaker chiefs in 1762-'3, but sustained a signal defeat; and an expedition sent by the Bengal government, in 1767, to succour the rajah of Nepaul, proved equally unsuccessful. Prithi Narayan died in 1771, but his successors carried on the same scheme of conquest, crossed the Gogra river, seized Kumaon, and even strove to gain possession of the rich valley of Cashmere. The lowland rajahs, when transferred by the cession of the vizier of Oude from Mussulman to British rule, were suffered to retain undisturbed possession of their territories on payment of a fixed land-tax. The Goorkalese, on the contrary, as each hill-chieftain was successively vanquished, exterminated the family, and, with the conquered possessions, took up the claims and contests of their former lords, and were thus brought in contact with numerous rajahs and zemindars, actually occupying the position of British subjects. The complaints laid before the supreme government by these persons were generally but lightly regarded; and, unless under very peculiar circumstances, the Goorkalese were treated as good neighbours, whom it was desirable to conciliate. Under a strong government at Calcutta, outrages on the frontier were of comparatively rare occurrence, and, when firmly demanded, reparation was usually made; but the unfortunate measures of Sir George Barlow incited aggressions which were not to be so easily checked as heretofore. The rajah (a prince with a long string of names, differently given by different authorities)* was a minor. The chief authority rested in the hands of a military aristocracy, headed by a powerful family called Thappa, of whom one member, Bheem Sein, exercised the office of prime minister, with the title of general, while his brother, Umur Sing, held command of the army. The expediency of war with the English was much canvassed by the Goorkalese chiefs. The decision arrived at was, that their native fastnesses would always afford an invulnerable position, and by issuing thence on predatory incursions, a state of hostility could be made more

advantageous, than peace purchased at the sacrifice of their favourite system of encroachment. The British, on their part, viewed the approaching struggle with little apprehension. The Bengal officers, especially, made sure of victory. From the days of Clive to those of Lake, with scarcely an exception, they had but to take the field and march straight against the enemy, to ensure his precipitate flight. The uncontested occupation of Bhootwal and Sheoraj, seemed the natural effect of their military reputation, and considerable surprise was excited by tidings that the Goorkalese had set them at defiance, by taking advantage of the withdrawal of the troops to surround the three police-stations in Bhootwal, where after killing and wounding twenty-four of the defenders, the superior local officer of the British had been murdered in a very barbarous manner. The governor-general demanded from the court of Katmandoo the disavowal of any share in this outrage, and the punishment of its perpetrators; but received a menacing reply, which precluded further hope of an amicable arrangement, and occasioned the issue of a declaration of war by Lord Moira in November, 1814.

The army destined for the invasion of the enemy's frontier, formed four divisions, of which the first, under Major-general Marley, comprised 8,000 men, and was intended to march against Katmandoo. The other three divisions, under Maj.-generals Wood, Gillespie, and Ochterlony (4,500, 3,500, and 6,000 strong), were directed to attack different portions of the hostile frontier; besides which, Major Latter was furnished with a body of 2,700 men for the defence of the Purneah frontier, to the eastward of the Coosy river.† The campaign opened with the siege of the petty fortress of Kalunga or Nalapanee, situated on an insulated hill, a few miles from Dehra, the chief town in the Doon (or valley.) The garrison consisted of about 600 men, headed by a nephew of Umur Sing. The English expected to carry the place by storm according to custom, and the gallant Rollo Gillespie, with fatal impetuosity, led an assault, in which, while waving his hat to cheer the troops, he was shot through the heart. The siege was discontinued pending the arrival of a battering train from Delhi;

royal family was nearly extinguished. The present rajah (then an infant) was secreted in the zenana.

† Major (now General) Latter rendered good service by his negotiations with the rajah of Sikkim (a hill state east of Nepaul), and his small detachment "accomplished more than it was destined to attempt."

* Styled by Fraser, Jirban Joodeber Bheem Sah; by Prinsep, Maharajah Kurman Jodhi Bikram Sah Bahadur Shumsheer Jung. His father was assassinated by his own brother in full durbar, in 1805. The fratricide was slain in the ensuing barbarous affray, in which most of the chief nobles perished, and the

but even when a breach had been effected, the soldiers, dispirited by their former repulse, could not be induced to advance. It was not until the assailants had sustained a loss, in killed and wounded, considerably beyond the entire number of the garrison, that measures were taken to shell the fort, and cut off the supply of water obtained without the walls. The besieged were compelled to evacuate the place on the 30th November, 1814. The conquerors found in the mangled bodies of hundreds of men and women, dead or dying of wounds and thirst, fearful evidence of the determination of the foe with whom they had now to deal. This inauspicious commencement seems to have inspired three out of four of the leaders of the British army (including Martindell, the successor of Gillespie) with a degree of timidity and distrust, which can scarcely be disguised beneath the name of prudence; and General Marley was struck off the staff for neglect and incompetency. General Ochterlony displayed a quickness and energy which, combined with discretion, enabled him to cope with difficulties of a new and unexpected order, and, although opposed by Umur Sing in person, to obtain triumphs to counterbalance the disasters which attended the other divisions. He had formed from the first a just estimate of the character of the enemy, whom he met with their own weapons, especially by the erection of stockaded posts, before unknown in Anglo-Indian warfare. The opening movements of the English veteran were cautious and laborious. The making of roads, and diplomatic proceedings with wavering chiefs, occupied much time before his masterly policy could be developed; but its effects were manifested by the reduction of the Ramgurh and other forts, and by the withdrawal of Umur Sing, with his entire force, to the strong position of Maloun. The stone fort thus named, and that of Soorajgurh, formed the extremities of a line of fortified posts, erected on a lofty and difficult ridge projecting into the Sutlej. Of the intervening peaks, all were occupied by stockades except Ryla peak and Deothul. Of these two, Ochterlony, on his approach, succeeded in obtaining possession; the first without difficulty, the second after a sanguinary conflict

* The Goorkalese displayed throughout the campaign an unexpected amount of chivalry, and exhibited, in many ways, their confidence in the good faith of the British. After the battle of Deothul, they asked for the body of Bhukti Sing, whose loss they loudly bemoaned, declaring that the blade of

on the 15th April, 1815. Bhukti Thappa, a famous leader, above seventy years of age, who commanded at Soorajgurh, represented to Umur Sing the necessity of dislodging the British from Deothul; and on the morning of the 16th, an attack was made by the flower of the Goorkalese army on all accessible sides.* Happily, the previous night had been spent in throwing up defences in expectation of a renewed struggle. The enemy came on with such furious intrepidity, that several men were bayoneted or cut to pieces within the works; and their fire was directed so effectively against the artillerymen, that at one time three officers and one bombardier alone remained to serve the guns. A reinforcement, with ammunition from Ryla peak, arrived at a critical moment, and the British, after acting for two hours on the defensive, became in turn assailants; Bhukti was slain, his followers put to flight, and a complete victory obtained, at the cost of 213 killed and wounded. The enemy left about 500 men on the ground before Deothul. The event afforded a great triumph to the native troops, by whom it was almost wholly achieved. It was followed by the evacuation of Soorajgurh, and the concentration of the hostile force in Maloun, against which place a battery was raised by the end of the first week in May.

In the meantime, the governor-general had been actively employed in initiating a series of spirited operations on the side of Rohilcund. While visiting the north-western provinces, he had learned that the inhabitants of Kumaon were held in rigorous subjection by the Goorkalese, who frequently seized and sold their wives and children to enforce the most arbitrary exactions. To supply the place of regular troops, levies were made from the warlike Patans of Rohilcund, under the auspices of two commanders (Gardner and Hearsey), who had come over from Sindia at the time of the Mahratta war. The corps organised by Major Hearsey was dispersed by the enemy, and its leader made prisoner; but Lieutenant Gardner succeeded in making his way into the heart of the province of Kumaon, and took up a position in sight of Almora, the capital, where a force of regular infantry and artillery, under Colonel Nicholls, joined him in their sword was broken. Ochterlony complied with the request, and sent the gory corpse, wrapped in rich shawls, in acknowledgment of the bravery of the fallen chief. His two widows sacrificed themselves on the funeral pile next day, in compliance with his injunction.—(H. T. Prinsep's *Trans. in India*, i., 170.)

the middle of April. The Setolee heights, distant from the fort about seventy yards, were gained after a severe contest; and the governor, thus closely menaced, and straitened for want of supplies, signed terms of surrender for the whole province, and for the retirement of the Goorkalese troops to the east of the Kalce river—articles which were duly executed.

Tidings of the fall of Almora facilitated the conquest of Maroun. The dispirited Goorkalese entreated Umur Sing to make terms for himself and his son Runjoor, whom General Martindell had ineffectually besieged in the fort of Jythuk. The old chief refused, declaring, that the rainy season, now close at hand, would compel the British to withdraw; and he used the most severe coercion to retain the allegiance of the troops. But in vain: the majority of both officers and men came over to the British camp as prisoners of war; and Umur Sing, with but 250 remaining adherents, beheld the batteries ready to open upon the walls of Maloun. Convinced of the hopelessness of prolonged resistance, the proud chief resigned his last stronghold, together with all the territory from Kumaon westward to the Sutlej, including, of course, Jythuk. Thus a campaign which, in January, promised nothing but disaster, terminated in May with the conquest of the whole hilly tract from the Gogra to the Sutlej, a country hitherto deemed impenetrable to Europeans. The triumph was, in fact, mainly due to native troops; of whom, with the exception of a few artillerymen, Ochterlony's division was exclusively composed. It is important to add, that this force was extremely well officered, and that its operations were materially facilitated by the ability of the field engineer, Lieutenant Lawtie, who died, aged twenty-four, of fever, brought on by excessive fatigue and exposure endured before Maloun.*

Ochterlony received a baronetcy, and a pension of £1,000 a-year in acknowledgment of his services. The governor-general was rewarded by a step in the peerage, being created Marquis of Hastings. Various important arrangements attended the conclusion, or rather interruption, of hostilities. Many of the Goorkalese entered the British service, and were formed into what were

termed the *Nuseeree* battalions; a provincial corps was also raised for civil duties in Kumaon, which now became a British province. The Doon was retained, and ultimately annexed to the Seharanpoor district. The remaining hill country was restored to the several chiefs from whom it had been wrested by Umur Sing, with the exception of a few military posts; and the whole territory was declared under British protection.

The Katmandoo government was not, however, yet sufficiently humbled to accept the terms of peace offered by Lord Hastings. Umur Sing and his sons strenuously advocated the renewal of war, in preference to suffering a British resident and military establishment to be stationed at the capital. Another object of dispute was the fertile but insalubrious Turaee and the adjacent Sâl (*shorea robusta*) forest, of which, according to a Goorkalese saying, "every tree is a mine of gold."† The proposed treaty was therefore rejected, and Sir David Ochterlony again took the field in January, 1816, at the head of nearly 17,000 effective men, including three European regiments. All the known passes through the first range of hills had been carefully fortified by the enemy; but, happily, a route was discovered through a deep and narrow ravine, by which the Cherea heights were gained without resistance, and the position of the Goorkalese completely turned. The British general marched on to the beautiful valley of the Raptée, and was moving up to Mukwanpoor, when a skirmish of posts paved the way to a general action, in which he obtained a signal victory; whereupon the royal red seal was hastily affixed to the rejected treaty of Segoulee, and a duly qualified envoy presented it on his knees at the durbar of General Ochterlony, in presence of all the vakeels in the camp.

By a politic concession, a part of the Turaee was surrendered to the Nepaulese. The portion skirting the Oude dominions was retained, and, together with Khyreegurb, a pergunnah of Rohileund, was made over to Ghazi-oo-deen, in payment of a second loan of a crore of rupees obtained from him during the war, and furnished out of the hoards of his father, Sadut Ali, the late nabob-vizier, who died in 1814.

During the Goorkalese war, indications

* General Ochterlony deeply lamented his brave coadjutor. The whole army went into mourning, and afterwards erected a monument to the memory of Lieut. Lawtie in the cathedral church of Calcutta.

† The timber is used in ship-building, though far inferior to the teak of Malabar and of the Burman empire. The elephant, rhinoceros, and buffalo abound in the forest, and ravage the plain.

of a desire to take advantage of any symptom of weakness in the British government were not wanting on the part of Sindia, or even of the peishwa, who now began to think himself strong enough to stand alone, and was well inclined to kick aside the ladder by which he had risen to fortune. The triumphant conclusion of the late hostilities checked the development of these feelings, and left Lord Hastings at liberty to direct his chief attention to the suppression of the predatory bands of Pindarries and Patans, who had arisen, "like masses of putrefaction, out of the corruption of weak and expiring states."* The chief difference between them was, that the Patans were military mercenaries, associated for the purpose of invading or plundering such states as they could overpower or intimidate; while the Pindarries were cowardly and desperate banditti, whose object was universal rapine. Against both these descriptions of marauders the English authorities were compelled to be continually on the alert. The most effectual defensive measure was considered to be the establishment of subsidiary troops in Berar. The death of Ragojee Bhonslay appeared likely to facilitate this arrangement; for his only son Pursajee, being paralysed and an idiot, the nephew of the late rajah Moodajee, commonly called Appa Sahib, assumed the regency; and the better to establish his ascendancy, sought the recognition of the English at the cost of entering upon the defensive alliance which they particularly desired. Appa Sahib was, at heart, decidedly opposed to the establishment of foreign influence at Nagpoor, and no sooner felt himself firmly seated on the *gadi*, than he sought the means of recovering the purchase-money of his position by entering into negotiations with the court of Poona, then the nucleus of a powerful confederacy forming against the English—a proceeding which he accompanied by the precaution of causing his young and afflicted ward to be strangled in the night of February 1st, 1817.

* Malcolm's *Central India*, i., 431. Sir John, on the authority of the Pindarry leader, Kureem Khan, gives the etymology of the term Pindarry—from *Pinda*, an intoxicating drink which they were constantly imbibing. Kureem Khan was a Rohilla.

† No fewer than twenty-five women drowned themselves to escape violation; many sacrificed also their young children. The ordinary modes of torture inflicted by the Pindarries were—heavy stones placed on the head or chest; red-hot irons applied to the soles of the feet; tying the head of a person into a tobra or bag for feeding horses, filled with hot

Before this event, the incursions of the Pindarries had alarmingly increased, and in 1816 they remained twelve days within the British frontier, during which time they were ascertained to have plundered 339 villages, put 182 persons to a cruel death, severely wounded 505, and subjected 3,603 others to different kinds of torture.† The losses sustained by individuals at Guntoor (in the Northern Circars) and elsewhere, were estimated at about £100,000 sterling. The peishwa, Sindia, and the divided authorities on whom the management of the Holcar principality had devolved, affected to desire the suppression of these enormities; but as it was notorious they favoured the perpetrators, it became necessary to take steps against such deceitful governments.

The policy pursued by the peishwa toward his English patrons, had become evidently hostile since the accession to office, in 1815, of one Trimbukjee Dainglia, a menial servant, who had found the path to power by promoting the gratification of his master's ill-regulated desires. The assassination of Gungadhur Shastree,‡ the representative of the Guicowar chief, who had come to Poona to settle a question of finance, under the express protection of the English, justified the resident (Mountstuart Elphinstone) in demanding the removal from office of the instigator of the crime. Bajee Rao, with characteristic indecision, first surrendered his favourite, and then unceasingly solicited his deliverance from the imprisonment which was the only punishment the English authorities desired to inflict. Artifice effected the deliverance of the prisoner. The Mahratta groom of one of the British officers in the garrison of Tanna, in the island of Salsette, while engaged in exercising his master's horse, sang beneath the window of Trimbukjee what appeared to be one of the monotonous ballads of the country, but which really communicated to the captive a plan of escape, of which he took advantage on the evening of the 12th of September, 1816. Having made an excuse for

ashes; throwing oil on the clothes and setting fire to them; besides many others equally horrible. Their favourite weapon was the long Mahratta spear.

‡ Gungadhur was the name of the ambassador; Shastree, a title denoting intimate acquaintance with the Shastras, a portion of the sacred writings of the Hindoos. Bajee Rao was himself supposed to have sanctioned the murder, to revenge an affront given by the Shastree in refusing to allow his wife to visit the palace of the peishwa, then the scene of licentiousness unparalleled during the sway of any of his predecessors.—(Duff's *Mahrattas*, iii., 374.)

quitting his rooms, he reached an embrasure, and lowered himself into the ditch by means of a rope, secured to a gun by one of his accomplices. This adventure greatly increased the reputation of Trimbukjee with his own countrymen, and he began to assemble troops on the Mahadco hills to the north of the Neera. The military preparations of the peishwa, and his secret correspondence, and even interviews, with a subject against whom he affected to desire the co-operation of British troops, left little doubt of his perfidious intentions; and the governor-general considered himself justified in adopting a very summary mode of diminishing the power which he expected to see employed in counteracting his plans for the destruction of the Pindarries. Bajee Rao was treated as an avowed enemy, and required, as the only means of averting war, to surrender Trimbukjee, to renounce the right of supremacy over the Mahratta confederation, and to surrender certain territories in Malwa, Guzerat, and the Deccan, for the purpose of supporting a force of 5,000 cavalry and 3,000 infantry, to be maintained in lieu of the previous British contingent. Other humiliating concessions were exacted from Bajee Rao, by the treaty of Poona ratified in June, 1816, which in fact reduced him from the position of an independent prince to that of a mere vassal. The treaty of Bassein had been censured for the sacrifices it entailed on the peishwa; and "the extension of the subsidiary system in 1805, had led the way to the retirement of the most enlightened statesman who had ruled in India."* By this time the weathercock of public opinion had veered round, and the Court of Directors expressed themselves well satisfied with the course of events, and convinced "of the irrepressible tendency of our Indian power to enlarge its bounds and to augment its preponderance, in spite of the most peremptory injunctions of forbearance from home, and of the most scrupulous obedience to them in the government abroad."†

The sanction of the E. I. Cy. was likewise

given to offensive operations to the extent requisite to drive the Pindarries from their haunts on the Nerbudda and from Malwa. The views of the Marquis of Hastings were more comprehensive: he considered that the peace of Central India demanded the total extermination of these predatory bands; and to that end "did not hesitate boldly to assume the principle that, in the operations against the Pindarries, no power could be suffered to remain neutral, but all should be required to join the league for their suppression."‡

At this period (1817) the Pindarries, under their respective leaders, were stated, by the lowest computation, at 15,000 horse, 1,500 foot, with twenty guns. Other writers carried the estimate as high as 30,000; but authorities agreed, that when joined by volunteers and adventurers from other native armies, they often exceeded the latter amount. The Patans, under Ameer Khan, were estimated at 12,000 horse, 20,000 foot, and 200 guns. Supposing the contemplated confederation between the four Mahratta leaders (the peishwa, Sindia, Holcar, and the Bhonslay), the Nizam, Ameer Khan,§ and the Pindarries, to have been carried out, a force of above 130,000 horse, 87,000 foot, and nearly 600 guns might have been brought into the field to dispute British supremacy.||

Measures had been already taken to diminish the danger of hostility on the part of the peishwa, and the subsidiary alliance lately formed with Berar was expected to ensure neutrality in that quarter. The plan of the campaign, therefore, was principally formed with relation to the independent states of Sindia, Holcar, the Rajpoots, the nabob of Bhopal, and the chiefs of Bundelcund. Something after the fashion of the old "circular hunts" was to be attempted, by assembling armies round these countries which should, by simultaneous movements, close in so as to encompass the Pindarries and their abettors at all points, provision being made for the defeat of the project through the strength or cunning of the enemy, as well as for the defence of the

* Auber's *British Power in India*, ii., 528.

† Secret Letter of Directory to Bengal, Jan., 1818.

‡ Prinsep's *Military Transactions*, ii., 21.

§ Among the malcontents assembled under Ameer Khan was Dya Ram, a refractory *talookdar*, or *zemindar* of the Doab, who, in 1816, had been expelled by British troops from his fort of Hatras.

|| The peishwa had command over 28,000 horse; 13,800 foot; 37 guns. Sindia—14,250 horse; 16,250 foot; 140 guns. Holcar—20,000 horse; 7,940 foot;

107 guns. Bhonslay—15,766 horse; 17,826 foot; 85 guns. Nizam—25,000 horse; 20,000 foot. The Nizam himself was too weak and indolent, if not incapable, to be suspected of any intention to intrigue against the English; but his sons were turbulent youths, whose vicious practices it had been necessary to assist their father in restraining; and it was difficult to judge what might be the conduct of the numerous armed population of Hyderabad, in the event of reverses attending our arms.

British territory. The forces destined to carry out this extensive scheme comprised above 91,000 regular troops, and 23,000 irregular horse,* divided and subdivided in accordance with the plan of the campaign. On the 20th October, 1817, the marquis, in person, assumed command of the grand army at Secundra (near Kalpee), and after crossing the Jumna by a bridge of boats, proceeded to occupy a position south of Gwalior, where Sindia had established his permanent camp;† while another division of the Bengal troops took up its station at Dholpoor. Undoubted evidence had been obtained that Sindia had not only pledged himself to support the Pindarries, but had even attempted a treacherous correspondence with the Nepaulese. His intercepted communications proved him to be only wanting a favourable opportunity to take the field, and thus give an example which would assuredly have been followed by the open appearance in arms of Ameer Khan and his Patans, who were at present inclined to hold back from their Pindarry friends. Sindia had inherited the ambition without the judgment or decision of his predecessor. He had not anticipated the skilful movement by which he found himself menaced by a formidable force in front and in the rear. To bide the event of a siege in Gwalior, or to repair to his distant dominions and join the Pindarries, with the chance of being intercepted and compelled to risk the event of a general engagement, were both humiliating and dangerous measures, which he thought best to avoid by agreeing to the demands of the English. These involved active concurrence against the Pindarries, and the temporary surrender of the forts of Hindia and Aseerghur, as a pledge of fidelity. The treaty exacted from Sindia was followed by the submission of Ameer Khan, who agreed to disband his army, if confirmed in possession of the territory of which he was in the actual tenure under grants from Holcar. As this noto-

rious chief was a mere adventurer, whose demands could only be conceded by legalising the usurpations on which they were founded, it may be doubted whether temporary expediency, rather than justice, was not the actuating motive in the arrangement entered upon with him. Treaties with Zalim Sing of Kotah, and other minor potentates, were made in a spirit similar to those formed by Lake under the auspices of Lord Wellesley; and the nabob of Bhopal, especially, entered cordially into the intended expedition against the despotic freebooters from whose ravages his small territories had sustained almost irremediable damage.‡

The Pindarry chiefs, meanwhile, aware of the extensive preparations made against them, employed themselves during the rains in recruiting their respective *durraks* or camps. The want of cordiality between the principal leaders—namely, Cheetoo, Kureem Khan, and Wasil Mohammed—prevented their forming any combined plan of resistance. With the exception of some *luhburs*, or plundering expeditions dispatched against the unprotected territory of the British or their allies, little attempt at opposition was made; and losing their usual activity, the majority of the Pindarries retreated passively before the advancing foe, fixing their last hope on the secret assurances of support received from Poona.

The governor-general does not appear to have anticipated any struggle on the part of the peishwa to recover his lost authority. Mr. Elphinstone, in his capacity of resident, had seen ample reason to take precautions against this highly probable event; but Bajee Rao, in an interview with the political agent, Sir John Malcolm, had conducted himself so plausibly, that Sir John, completely duped by professions of grateful attachment for early support, mingled with sad complaints of the harsh policy recently adopted, forgot the character of the arch-hypocrite with whom he had to deal, and actually advised the peishwa to continue

* The Deccan force, under Sir Thomas Hislop (including a reserve corps, the Guzerat division, and the troops left at Poona, Hyderabad, and Nagpoor) numbered 57,000 regulars, of whom 5,255 were cavalry. The Bengal force comprised 34,000 regulars, including 5,000 cavalry.—(Col. Blacker.)

† Sindia seized Gwalior upon the death of Ambajee Inglija, in 1808, and established his army in the neighbourhood, where he remained until his own demise in 1827. A city sprang up there which soon rivalled Oojein, if not in the costliness of its structures, at least in the amount of population.

‡ In 1797, two Pindarry leaders, named Heeroo and Burrun, who were also brothers, offered the services of themselves and their 5,000 followers to the state of Bhopal, as auxiliaries in the war then carried on with Berar. Being rejected, they went off and made a similar proposition to Ragojee Bhonslay, who received it favourably, and bade them lay waste Bhopal, then in a most flourishing condition. The order was obeyed with cruel and lasting effect. The chiefs were plundered by their employer the Berar rajah. Heeroo, the father of Wasil Mohammed, died in prison; Burrun at Aseerghur.

enlisting recruits for the laudable purpose of co-operating with his good friends the English. Thus encouraged, Bajee Rao openly levied troops from all quarters, and secretly endeavoured to induce the British sepoy stationed at Poona to desert their colours. The native officers and regulars were, without exception, proof against these solicitations, which in many instances were made known to their commanders. But the irregular battalions, under Major Ford, contained a large proportion of Mahrattas, and these were naturally more subject to temptation. It is asserted that the peishwa desired, before proceeding further, to be rid of the resident by assassination; but that Bappoo Gokla, the chief Mahratta leader, positively refused to suffer the perpetration of so base a crime, the more especially since he had received peculiar kindness from the intended victim. Happily, Mr. Elphinstone was on his guard alike against national and individual hostility, and waited anxiously the first symptom of undisguised hostility, in anticipation of which a regiment had arrived from Bombay. Thinking the cantonment in Poona too exposed, the station was changed to the village of Kirkee, four miles distant; a step which, being attributed to fear, greatly encouraged the Mahrattas, who began to plunder the old cantonments. At length, on the 4th of Nov., 1817, Moro Dikshut, the minister of the peishwa, actuated by personal attachment, warned Major Ford to stand neuter in the coming struggle, and thus save himself and his family from the destruction which was shortly to overwhelm the whole British detachment. Up to this moment the major, though in daily communication with the city, had been so completely hoodwinked by Bajee Rao, as to entertain no suspicion of intended treachery. On the following day, news of the approach of a light battalion from Scroor, determined the irresolute peishwa to defer the attack no longer. Efforts were continued to the last to throw the British off their guard; and an emissary, bearing some frivolous message from the court, had scarcely quitted the residency, before intelligence arrived that the Mahratta army was in movement. Mr. Elphinstone and his suite had just time to mount and retire by the ford of the Moola river, to join their comrades at Kirkee, before the enemy arrived and took possession of the residency, which was speedily pillaged and burned.

The British brigade, leaving their canton-

ments, advanced to the plain between Kirkee and the city, to meet the Mahratta troops. The peishwa, disconcerted by this daring movement, sent word to Gokla not to fire the first gun. Gokla, seeing the messenger, and suspecting the nature of his errand, waited not his arrival, but commenced the attack by opening a battery of nine guns, detaching a strong corps of rocket camels, and pushing forward his cavalry to the right and left. A spirited charge was made under his direction by Moro Dikshut, with a select body of 6,000 horse, bearing the *Juree Putka* or swallow-tailed golden pennon of the empire. They came down like a torrent on the British front, but were steadily encountered by the 7th battalion. Colonel Burr had "formed and led" this corps; and now, though completely paralysed on one side, he took his post by its colours, calm and collected. One ball went through his hat, another grazed the head of his horse, two attendants were shot by his side; but the infirm officer, unhurt and undismayed, continued to cheer and direct his men. The advance of the assailants was happily impeded by a deep slough (the existence of which was not previously suspected by either party), situated immediately in front of the British line. The cavalry, while scrambling out of the mire, were exposed to the reserved fire of Burr's detachment; Moro Dikshut was killed, the force of the charge broken, confusion spread through the Mahratta ranks, and the advance of the English proved the signal for a general retreat. The battle of Kirkee must ever remain conspicuous among the hard-fought fields of India, for the great disproportion of the combatants. The Mahratta force comprised 18,000 cavalry and 8,000 foot: their loss was 500 men killed and wounded;* beside which, a considerable number of their valuable and highly-cherished horses were disabled. The whole number of the British troops engaged in this affair, including Major Ford's battalion (part of which deserted), was 2,800 rank and file, of whom 800 were Europeans. Their loss was 186 killed and fifty-seven wounded.

During the engagement, the peishwa remained on the Parbuttee hill, with a guard of 7,000 men. At the first outbreak of hostilities, his orders were vindictive and ferocious in the extreme;† but he became

* Moro Dikshut was mortally wounded by a shot from a gun attached to Captain Ford's battalion.

† Several Europeans were killed in cold-blood;

alarmed by the unexpected turn of events, and gave over all power into the hands of Gokla, who was anxious to continue the contest. "We may have taken our shrouds about our heads," he said, "but we are determined to die with our swords in our hands."* This was not, however, the general feeling of the Mahrattas. They had little cause for attachment to the grasping and incapable Bajee Rao; and he displayed an utter want of confidence in their will or ability to protect him, by taking the approach of a British reinforcement, under General Smith, as the signal for a midnight retreat towards Sattara. Poona, thus a second time deserted by its sovereign, surrendered on the following day; and the necessary arrangements having been made for its retention, General Smith started off in pursuit of the peishwa, who, though a fugitive, was still at the head of a formidable army. He was further strengthened by the open adhesion of Appa Sahib, the rajah of Berar, between whom and the British force, under Colonel Scott, a severe conflict took place on the heights near Nag-poor, on the night of the 26th of November. The rajah being defeated, made terms of peace, for the fulfilment of which he was himself to be the guarantee, as a sort of prisoner in his own palace; but Mr. (afterwards Sir Richard) Jenkins, learning that Appa Sahib was only waiting an opportunity of escape, seized and sent him strongly escorted towards Benares. The captive, though treated heretofore without much ceremony, was suffered to choose his own escort; the result of which was, that the British officer on guard, having been made to believe that his charge was an invalid, gave a hasty glance at the bed on which Appa Sahib usually slept, and turned away after this slack performance of his nightly duty, without discovering that a pillow had been made to take the place of a person who was already many miles distant.

General Smith followed the peishwa through the Ghauts, but failed in bringing him to action. This much-desired object was, however, unexpectedly accomplished on the 1st of January, 1818, by a detachment proceeding to support Colonel Burr in resisting an expected attack on Poona. Captain Staunton, with one battalion of N. I. 600 strong, 350 irregular horse, and

and the families of the native troops who fell into the hands of the Mahrattas were cruelly maltreated

* Duff's *Mahrattas*, iii., 429.

two 6-pounders, manned by twenty-four Europeans, after a long night march, reached the hills above Corygaum, a village overhanging the steep bank of the Beema river, and beheld with surprise the whole force of the peishwa, estimated at 25,000 to 28,000 men, encamped on the opposite bank. Both parties pushed on for the village, and succeeded in occupying different portions; but the British gained possession of a small *choultry*, or place of refreshment, which had originally been a temple. Here the detachment remained, under a burning sun, cut off from the water from noon to nine o'clock, disputing every foot of ground, and repulsing repeated attacks with the bayonet. The peishwa ascended an adjoining eminence, and, with the rajah of Sattara by his side, awaited what seemed a certain victory. Gokla and Trimbukjee (who had now joined his master) directed the attacks; and the Arab mercenaries, whose superior courage was acknowledged by superior pay, at one time became masters of the choultry, but it was soon recaptured. The struggle seemed hopeless, but surrender was not thought of. "See," said Captain Staunton, pointing to the headless trunk of Lieutenant Chisholm, lying beside a gun, "the mercy of the Mahrattas!" The troops, though some were fainting and others nearly frantic with thirst, declared that sooner than fall into the hands of their foes, they would die to a man: and the result seemed probable. Happily, towards nightfall, a supply of water was procured. The firing gradually ceased; and at daybreak, when the brave band prepared to renew the conflict, the enemy was descried moving off on the road to Poona, in consequence of the rumoured advance of General Smith. Captain Staunton, who was unhurt, retreated to Seroor; and the government, in commemoration of this gallant affair, raised the corps engaged† to the much-coveted rank of grenadiers, and added "Corygaum" to the name of "Mangalore," previously borne by the first regiment of Bombay native infantry.

Sattara was besieged by a combined force under generals Smith and Pritzler, on the 9th of February, and capitulated on the following day. A manifesto was issued by Mr. Elphinstone, on behalf of the British government, taking formal possession of the dominions of the peishwa, with the view of

† The battalion (2nd of 1st Bombay N. I.) lost 153 killed and wounded; the artillerymen (26 in all), 18; cavalry, 96; officers, 5 out of 8, including 2 surgeons.

retaining all except a small tract to be reserved for the rajah of Sattara, who, with his family, was still in the hands of Bajee Rao. General Smith again started off in pursuit, and came up with the Mahratta force at Ashtee, to the north-westward of Sholapoor. Bajee Rao, as usual, thought only of making good his retreat, and left Gokla, with a body of eight or ten thousand horse, to fight the English. General Smith,* though in other respects a good officer, is said to have been ignorant of the art of manœuvring cavalry, and he was opposed by a leader of unrivalled skill in that favourite branch of Mahratta warfare. The English chief was cut down, and some confusion ensued; of which before Gokla could take advantage, he was himself slain—falling, as he had promised, sword in hand. There was no one capable of taking his place, and the Mahrattas fled in wild dismay, leaving elephants, camels, and baggage of all descriptions, to the victors.† The rajah of Sattara, with his mother and two brothers, voluntarily threw themselves on British protection; and being placed under the care of Mr. Elphinstone, and assured of the favourable intentions of the British government, the rajah assumed the state of a sovereign. The wound of General Smith did not prove dangerous, and he was soon enabled to resume the pursuit of Bajee Rao, which the excessive heat of the weather rendered an extremely arduous and depressing task. The men fell beneath sun-strokes more surely and speedily than in the recent engagements, and the hospitals became crowded. The fugitive peishwa had long been desirous to make terms of peace; and at length, when his intended passage across the Nerbudda was intercepted by Sir John Malcolm, he made proposals which that officer considered as affording satisfactory ground for an arrangement. The terms finally agreed to were the complete renunciation of every political right or claim by Bajee Rao, in return for an allowance of not less than eight lacs of rupees a-year. Beithoor, a place of sanctity near Cawnpore, was appointed for his future residence. Trimbukjee was soon after captured in his lurking-place by a party of irregular horse under Lieutenant Swanston (one of the vic-

tors at Coryganm), and sent prisoner to the fort of Chunar, in Bengal.

To revert to the operations simultaneously carried on against the Pindaries. Soon after the signing of the treaty of alliance with Sindia, on the 5th of Nov., 1817, the army under Lord Hastings was overtaken by a violent pestilence, since known as cholera,‡ which traversed the whole of India, from Nepaul to Cape Comorin. The year was one of scarcity, the grain of inferior quality, and the situation of the British cantonments low and unhealthy. For ten days the whole camp was an hospital; and the deaths in that short period amounted to a tenth of the total number collected. Towards the end of the month the troops removed to a healthy station at Erich, on the Betwa, and the epidemic had evidently expended its virulence. Notwithstanding this calamity, the object of Lord Hastings in advancing to Gwalior, was fully answered by the prevention of any co-operation between Sindia and the Pindaries. The latter, after being expelled from their haunts in Malwa, were compelled to retreat in various directions, and annihilated or dispersed, with the exception of those under Cheetoo, who being pursued by Sir John Malcolm, took refuge in the camp of Holcar, near Mahidpoor. The government of the Holcar principality at this time rested in the hands of Toolsae Bye, the favourite mistress of the late Jeswant Rao, who had exercised the chief authority during his insanity. After his death, she placed on the musnud his infant son Mulhar Rao, and proceeded to give vent to all the cruel caprices which could suggest themselves to the imagination of a woman of thirty years of age, handsome and of fascinating manners, but of an imperious and merciless temper and most licentious morals. Her last favourite, who assumed *ex officio* the reins of government, was the Dewan, Gunput Rao. He wavered between fear of the English and a desire to take part with the peishwa, then in arms. The commanders of battalions, especially the Patans, were adverse to entering upon any treaty by which their consequence was likely to be lowered; and fearing that the force under Malcolm, to which the division under Sir Thomas Hislop one week, 764 soldiers and 8,000 camp followers perished. Total deaths of Europeans in camp in Nov.—148. The epidemic, called by the natives the "black death," visited Calcutta in September, 1817, and for a long time destroyed above 200 per diem in that city.—(Prinsep: Wilson, ix., 253.)

* Afterwards Sir Lionel Smith, gov. of Jamaica.

† The British loss amounted to only nineteen killed and wounded; that of the enemy, to 200.

‡ *Transactions in India, 1813 to 1823*, i., 107—111. Mr. Prinsep was present at head-quarters, and lost seven servants and a *moonshee* in four days. During

had since been added, would overawe their vacillating rulers into submission, they threw Gunput Rao into prison, enticed away the child, Mulhar Rao, from the tent before which he was playing, and carried off Toolsae Bye, by night, to the banks of the Seepra, where, despite her cries, she was decapitated, and the body thrown into the river.*

On the following day (21st of December, 1817), a pitched battle took place, in which the British were completely successful, though at the cost of nearly 800 in killed and wounded. The enemy lost 3,000 men, chiefly in the flight to Mundissoor. The mother of the child Mulhar Rao, though a woman of inferior rank, being now the acknowledged regent of the Mahratta state, made full submission to the English; and in return for the cession of all claims in Rajast'han and south of the Santpoora range, was confirmed in the actual possession of the remaining territories of the principality, at the court of which a British resident was to be established. Many of the old leaders repudiated this engagement, and set off to join Bajee Rao—an attempt in which some succeeded, but others were intercepted, and cut off or dispersed.† The ministers, under the new order of things, “did not deplore an event which disembarrassed a bankrupt state of a mutinous soldiery, and cancelled a number of old and troublesome claims.”

The struggles of the Pindaries were nearly ended; Kureem Khan, and other chiefs, surrendered on the promise of pardon and a livelihood, and received small grants of land. Wasil Mohammed poisoned himself. Cheetoo for some time contrived to elude pursuit, but was surprised in Dec., 1817, with the main body of his followers, and dispersed by a detachment from the garrison at Hindia. The Bheels (aboriginal peasantry) and the Grassias (native land-owners), remembering the outrages they

had long passively sustained, now spared not a Pindarry who fell into their hands; but Cheetoo, with about 200 followers, still remained at large.‡ Though driven from place to place, the daring freebooter bore up against misfortune with a spirit worthy a better cause; till he suddenly disappeared—none, not even his son and few remaining followers, knew how or where; for they had parted from him to hunt the forest for food. After some days, his horse was discovered grazing near the jungles of Aseerghur (where Appa Sahib had sought refuge), saddled and bridled: at a little distance lay a heap of torn and blood-stained garments, and a human head, the remains of a tiger's feast. It was a fitting death for the last of the Pindaries—the last that is deserving the name; for these bold marauders, deprived of their leaders, without a home or a rendezvous, never again became formidable. After the termination of the war with the peishwa, they gradually merged into the ordinary population, following the example of their leaders. Many of them settled in the Deccan and Malwa, as cultivators; and some, employing their energies to a right use, became distinguished as active, improving farmers. The remaining Patan troops were conciliated or dispersed without further bloodshed.

The flight of Appa Sahib caused much anxiety, which terminated with the fall of the fortress of Aseerghur (April, 1819), whence the ex-rajah escaped disguised as a fakcer, and soon sank into a state of insignificance, from which he never emerged. An infant grandson of Ragojee Bhonslay was chosen to bear that name and fill the vacant *gadi*, or throne of Berar, with the title of rajah, under the nominal regency of his grandmother, the British resident being vested with the actual control of affairs during the minority. The remaining operations of the war were chiefly directed to the expulsion

* The career of Toolsae Bye resembles that of the heroine of a romance. She passed as the niece, but was generally supposed to be the daughter, of Adjeeba, an ambitious priest, who, though a professed mendicant, rose to rank and influence. He spared no pains in the education of Toolsae; and she, Malcolm not very gallantly remarks, was “tutored in more than the common arts of her sex.” Jeswunt Rao became enamoured with the fair *intrigante* at first sight. She was married, but that mattered little. In a few days the lady was in the palace of Holcar, her husband in prison, from whence he was released and sent home to the Deccan with some presents. Toolsae Bye had an artful waiting-maid, double her own age, who, after having attained high

station and amassed large sums by extortion (thereby exciting the envy of the minister on whom the fleeting affections of her mistress for the moment rested), was flung into prison, cruelly tortured, and driven to end her agonies by taking poison.—(Malcolm.)

† An excellent account of the Mahratta and Pindarry campaigns of 1817-'18-'19, has been given by an officer engaged therein—Lieutenant-colonel Blacker.

‡ Conditions of surrender were discussed on behalf of Cheetoo, but his terms were extravagant: moreover, he feared treachery and transportation; and even when dreaming, used to talk with horror of the sea, the hateful *Cala pani*, or black water. After his tragical end, a few fields were allotted for the subsistence of his son, a youth of weak intellect.

of various Arab garrisons from Candeish, a province which, though professedly under the sway of the Poona government, had been gradually usurped by Arab colonists. Malligaum, the strongest fort in the Candeish valley, was gained after an obstinate siege in June, 1819, at a cost to the successful besiegers of 200 killed and wounded.*

The E. I. Cy. evinced their sense of the conduct of the governor-general during the late "glorious and successful wars," by granting him the sum of £60,000 from the territorial revenues of India, for the purchase of an estate in the United Kingdom. Few remaining events in the administration of Lord Hastings need here be mentioned. Its commencement was marked by the renewal of the company's charter for twenty years; by the opening of trade with India to the nation at large; and by the formation of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India.† The occupation of Singapore, in 1817, was effected through the efforts of Sir Stamford Raffles, to whose zeal and discernment may be attributed the possession of the British portion of the Indian Archipelago. Protracted negotiations were carried on with Holland by Mr. Canning, then President of the Board of Control, which terminated in the Netherlands' treaty of 1824, by which the Dutch settlements on the continent of India, with Malacca, and the undisputed right to Singapore, were ceded to England in exchange for Sumatra, which was needlessly surrendered.

The financial dealings with Oude have been noticed. The pecuniary loans of the nabob aided in enabling him to assume the title of vizier without the sanction of the emperor; and, in 1819, the style of vizier was changed for that of king—an indiscreet admission on the part of the E. I. Cy. The chief blot upon the character of Lord Hastings' administration, was caused by the countenance lent by him to the nefarious transactions of certain persons who,

under pretence of mercantile dealings, obtained the sanction of government to the most shameless and usurious practices, carried on at the expense of the weak and incompetent Nizam. It was in fact a new version of the "Carnatic debt," conducted in the name of Messrs. Palmer and Co., one of the confederates or partners being Sir Thomas Rumbold, who stood almost in the position of son-in-law to the governor-general, having married a niece whom his lordship had brought up from infancy, and for whom he avowedly cherished the feelings of a father. Strong domestic attachment and excessive vanity conspired to induce Lord Hastings to defend a course into which he had been misled by the artifice of covetous men; and when his late secretary, Charles Metcalfe, on entering upon the duties of British resident at Hyderabad, set forth in very guarded and moderate language, the necessity of introducing a better order of things, the marquis manifested great annoyance, and subsequently addressed a most intemperate letter to the directory, in return for their very just animadversions on the nature of a firm which, without office or establishment, carried on "dealings to the extent of nearly £700,000, occurring under an imperceptible progress."‡ Payments for real or imaginary loans, at sixteen to eighteen per cent., were made by the Hyderabad government, by cash and by assignments of revenue; notwithstanding which, £600,000 were claimed by Messrs. William Palmer and Co., as the balance of accounts with the Nizam in 1820.

During the course of his prolonged administration, the Marquis of Hastings, involved in numerous and intricate military operations, found little opportunity to study with success questions connected with the civil administration of the empire, and the complicated and anxious question of revenue.§ His lordship resigned his office into the hands of the senior member of

* In the course of the Mahratta war, considerable service was rendered by Sir Thomas Munro, who, with a few hundred men, was deputed to take possession of the country ceded by the treaty of Poona, which was effected with some fighting, but chiefly by conciliation. Sir David Ochterlony likewise played a conspicuous part in the Pindarry war. His death, in 1825, occurred under painful circumstances. He was twice appointed resident at Delhi, and removed each time against his inclination: on the last occasion, vexation of spirit increased the morbid melancholy which hastened the close of his eventful career; and his last words, as he turned to the wall, were—"I die disgraced."—(Kay's *Life of Metcalfe*, ii., 132.)

† The first Bishop of Calcutta (Middleton) came out in 1814. He died in 1822, and was succeeded by Reginald Heber, who was cut off by apoplexy in 1826. Bishop James died in 1828. Turner in 1830.

‡ Auber, ii., 558 to 566. Thornton, iv., 583.

§ Sir Thomas Munro was sent to Madras in 1814, at the head of a commission formed for the purpose of revising the judicial system. He exerted himself very efficiently in the decision of arrears of causes which had been suffered to accumulate to a shameful extent. In 1821, he became governor of Madras, and carried out a settlement with a portion of the individual cultivators, called the ryotwar assessment, by which each small holder was not simply put in

council, Mr. Adam, and quitted India in January, 1823.* Though nearly seventy years of age, pecuniary embarrassments prevented him from spending his remaining days in his own country; and he was appointed governor of Malta, where he died, in consequence of a fall from his horse, in 1826.†

For six months the supreme authority rested in the hands of Mr. John Adam, an honest and able man, but somewhat prejudiced. He had uniformly dissented from the conduct adopted by the late governor-general with regard to the house of Palmer and Co.; and he was ready and willing to carry out the orders of the court, for making the large advance to the Nizam necessary to free him from the hands of his rapacious creditors, who were forbidden to have any further dealings with the court of Hyderabad. The circumstances of the case are involved in mystery; but it is certain that the failure of the concern created a great commotion in Calcutta, many persons being secretly interested in these transactions whose names were never made public. The proprietors of East India stock called for documents calculated to throw light on the whole affair; and, after much tedious discussion during the next twenty years, political influence procured a decision more favourable to the claims of the European money-lenders, against various native debtors in Oude, than was consistent with the honour of the British government.

This provisional administration was marked by the deportation of Mr. Silk Buckingham, the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, for a breach of the regulation forbidding editorial comments on public measures. The successful efforts of Mr. Adam for the reduction of expenditure, especially of the interest of the Indian debt, were highly meritorious,

the position of a mere yearly tenant, but was compelled to pay a fluctuating amount assessed annually at the pleasure of the collector for the time being, whose chief object was naturally the realisation of an immediate amount of revenue, without regard to the permanent welfare—indissolubly united—of the governors and the governed. This system, much praised at the time, reduced the Madras ryots to a state of extreme depression. Munro died of cholera near Gooty, in 1827.—(*Vide Life*, by Gleig.)

* The revenues of India rose from £17,228,000, in 1813-14, to £23,120,000 in 1822-3; but a considerable share of this increase is attributable to the accession of territory made under the Wellesley administration. The more than proportionate augmentation of military expense is no less clearly ascribable to the unjustifiable measures of Lord Cornwallis and Sir G. Barlow, and especially to the

as were also his unavailing attempts for the extension of native education.

AMHERST ADMINISTRATION: 1823 to 1827.

—The place of Lord Hastings was at first destined to be filled by Mr. Canning; but the changes in the cabinet, consequent upon the death of the Marquis of Londonderry, opened more congenial employment to the newly-appointed governor-general, and he remained at home in charge of the foreign office. Lord Amherst was selected for the control of Indian affairs, and arrived in Calcutta in August, 1823. The first object pressed on his attention was the open hostility in which a long series of disputes with the Burman empire abruptly terminated. The power of the Burmese was of comparatively recent growth. The people of Ava, after being themselves subject to the neighbouring country of Pegu, revolted under a leader of their own nation, in 1753. Rangoon, the capital of Pegu, surrendered to the Ava chief, who assumed the title of Alompra,‡ and the style of a sovereign; and during the succeeding eight years, laid the basis of an extensive state, which was subsequently enlarged by acquisitions on the Tenasserim coast taken from Siam, and by the annexation of the previously independent states of Arracan, of Munnipoor, and of Assam. Proceedings connected with the conquest of Arracan, brought the Burmese in contact with the British government; for, at the close of the eighteenth century, many thousand persons of the tribe called Mughhs, sought refuge from the insufferable persecution of their oppressors in the British province of Arracan. The numbers of the immigrants excited apprehension, and attempts were made to prevent any more of them from crossing the boundary line formed by the Naaf river. But this was impracticable by means consistent with

sufferance long extended to the ferocious Pindaries and the encroaching Mahrattas. For five years (1817 to 1822), the average annual military expenditure was £9,770,000. In 1822-3, the expenses still reached £8,495,000. The Indian debt increased from £27,002,000, in 1813-14, to £29,382,000 in 1822-3; showing an augmentation of £2,380,000. An able and comprehensive summary of the Hastings administration is given by Josiah Conder, whose history terminates at this point.

† Lord Hastings married Flora Campbell, Countess of Loudon, who lived with him in India in the full blaze of vice-regal splendour. In 1827, the sum of £20,000 was granted to the young marquiss.

‡ Alompra (correctly, *Alaong-b'hura*), a term applied by the Buddhists of Ava to an individual destined to become a Buddha, and attain the supreme felicity of absorption into the divine essence.

ordinary humanity. In 1798, not fewer than 10,000 Mughs rushed to the frontier in an almost frenzied state, and were followed by another body still more numerous, leaving the capital of Arracan nearly depopulated. They had fled through wilds and deserts without any preconceived plan, leaving behind them abundant traces of their melancholy progress in the dead bodies of both old and young, and of mothers with infants at the breast. The leader of one party, when told to withdraw, replied that he and his companions would never return to Arracan: they were ready to die by the hands of the English, or, if forcibly driven off, would seek refuge in the jungles of the great mountains, the abodes of wild beasts. The wretched multitudes attempted no violence, but sustained life as best they could on "reptiles and leaves," numbers daily perishing, until the British government, taking pity upon their misery, provided the means of sustenance, and materials for the construction of huts to shelter them from the approaching rains. Extensive tracts of waste lands, in the province of Chittagong, were assigned to the refugees, whom, perhaps, it would have been advisable to have settled in a more central position, since a colony of 40,000 persons, established under such circumstances, would, as they grew stronger, be very likely to provoke hostilities with the already incensed and barbarous sovereign of Ava.

The surrender of the Mughs was repeatedly demanded by this potentate, but the Marquis Wellesley returned a decided refusal; qualified, however, by an offer to give up any proved and notorious criminals, and by a promise to prohibit any renewed immigration of Burmese subjects. Some communications took place of little importance; and the discussion might have passed off without producing further hostility, but for the restless spirit of the Mughs, and their natural longing to regain possession of their ancient rights and former homes. A chief, named Khyen-bran (miscalled Kingberring), arose among them inspired with an insatiable desire of vengeance against the Burmese,

which he manifested by annual irruptions into Arracan. The Calcutta government strove to check these aggressions, and Lord Hastings gave leave to the Burmese to pursue the depredators to their haunts in Chittagong; but this concession did not appease the King of Ava, who attempted to form a confederacy with Runjeet Sing and other Indian princes, for the expulsion of the English from India. After the death of Khyen-bran, in 1815, the border warfare greatly diminished, and the British authorities, considering the chief cause of contention removed, maintained a very conciliatory tone, which being interpreted by the nameless* majesty of Ava as significant of weakness, only rendered his representatives more insolent and overbearing. Still no actual rupture took place until September, 1823, when a thousand Burmese landed by night on the small island of Shahpoori, at the entrance of the Tek Naaf, or arm of the sea dividing Chittagong from Arracan. The islet was little more than a sandbank, affording pasturage for a few cattle. The garrison consisted only of thirteen men, three of whom were killed, four wounded, and the rest driven off the island.

An explanation of this conduct was demanded, and given in the form of a vaunting declaration, that Shahpoori rightfully belonged to the "fortunate king of the white elephants, lord of the seas and earth," and that the non-admission of the claim of "the golden foot" would be followed by the invasion of the British territories. The threat was carried into execution, and a Burmese force actually took post within five miles of the town of Sylhet, only 226 miles from Calcutta. The governor-general entered upon the war with unfeigned reluctance, and its commencement was materially impeded by ignorance of the country, its routes, and passes. The advance from Bengal was at one time intended to have been made through Arracan, but this plan was set aside from regard to the health of the troops; and the main part of the force designed for the campaign, comprising about 11,000 men,† of whom one-half were Euro-

* The names of the kings of Ava, like those of the zamorins of Calicut, were kept secret until their deaths. The style of the Ava court, was to speak of "the golden presence," to address "the golden ear," or lay petitions before "the golden foot;" and on state occasions, the royal head was literally oppressed with the weight of a golden pyramid, and the body clothed in wrought gold.—(Trant's *Two Years in Ava*, 270; Havelock's *Ava*, 245.)

† This included the combined strength of Madras and Bengal; but the excessive repugnance manifested by the native troops in the service of the latter presidency to forsake their families and forfeit caste by embarking on board ship, rendered it impossible to employ any considerable portion of them. It appears, moreover, that great neglect existed on the part of those entrusted with the charge of the commissariat, as in the case of the refusal to march

peans, assembled in May, 1824, at Port Cornwallis, in the Great Andamans. Major-general Sir Archibald Campbell took command of the land, and Commodore Grant of the marine portion of the expedition, but the latter commander was speedily compelled, by ill-health, to give place to Captain Marryat. The forces safely reached Rangoon, the chief port of Ava, which was evacuated after a very feeble attempt at resistance.* On the 10th of June, a successful attempt was made on the fortified camp and stockades at Kemendine, on the Irawaddy river. The outwork was taken by storm; the first man to gain the summit being Major (afterwards Sir Robert) Sale. These conquests were followed by a disastrous expedition, which involved not only loss of life, but of character. A Burmese detachment had formed stockades, under cover of a fortified pagoda, at Kykloo, fourteen miles from Rangoon, and a body of Madras infantry was dispatched to drive them off, under Lieutenant-colonel Smith. The Burmese suffered the English to approach within sixty yards of the pagoda, and then opened their reserved fire with deadly effect. The sepoys may well be excused for quailing before the foe when British officers fairly lost all self-control, and lay down to screen themselves from danger. Colonel Smith ordered a retreat, which soon became a flight, and many lives would doubtless have been sacrificed had not the approach of reinforcements arrested the progress of both pursuers and pursued. A strong force was sent by Sir A. Campbell to drive the Burmese from Kykloo, but they had previously absconded. This affair, which occurred in October, 1824, was not calculated to cheer the army, or encourage them in a position daily becoming less endurable. No consideration of pity for the unfortunate people

against the Burmese, made by the 47th regiment (about 1,400 in number), at Barrackpoor, in 1825. The men entreated to be dismissed and suffered to return to their homes, but without effect. The regiment was paraded, and the refusal of the men to march or ground their arms (which they held unloaded, though furnished with forty rounds of ammunition), was punished by a murderous discharge of artillery, which killed numbers of them. About 200 were taken prisoners, of whom twelve were hanged, and the remainder condemned to labour in irons. The court of inquiry appointed to report on the whole affair, declared the conduct of the unhappy soldiers "to have been an ebullition of despair at being compelled to march without the means of doing so."—(Thornton's *India*, iv., 113.) How military men can reconcile their consciences to such proceedings as these, is perfectly incomprehensible.

of Rangoon had prevented the complete devastation of the country by its sovereign, and the invaders were consequently disappointed in their hopes of obtaining supplies of fresh meat and vegetables, and compelled to feed on putrid meat and bad biscuit. The influence of dense jungle and pestilential swamp, aggravated by intense heat and deluges of rain, spread fever and dysentery through the camp: scurvy and hospital gangrene followed in their train; and by the end of the monsoon scarcely 3,000 men were fit for active duty. The King of Ava relied on the proverbial unhealthiness of Rangoon to aid the efforts of his ill-disciplined troops, and facilitate the performance of his command to drive the invaders into the sea, or bring them to the capital to suffer torture and ignominy. Notwithstanding this vaunting language, his majesty of the golden foot became extremely uneasy on witnessing the pertinacity of the English, and despite much affected rejoicing at their having fallen into a trap by taking up a position at Rangoon, he compared himself, in an unguarded moment, to a man who, having got a tiger by the tail, knew not whether to hold on or let go.† He is said to have been encouraged in "holding on," by an odd tradition (if any such did really exist) that the capital would remain invincible until a magical vessel should advance against it without oars or sails!‡

The *Diana* steamer, which accompanied the flotilla on the Irawaddy, though possessed of no magic power, did great service in capturing and destroying the war-boats and fire-rafts sent out by the Burmese. The arrival of reinforcements and supplies from Bengal restored the number of troops at Rangoon to about their original amount, and infused new life into the survivors, and spirit to resist the repeated but ill-

* Crawford's *Embassy to Ava in 1827*: App., p. 65.

† The Shwe-da-gon, a Buddhist temple of great size and remarkable sanctity, being deserted by its priestly guardians, was used by Sir A. Campbell as a military outwork. The building was of solid brickwork, elaborately decorated, and coated with gilding, whence its name—the Golden Pagoda. The portion deemed peculiarly sacred, was a solid cone 300 feet high, which was supposed to enshrine, or rather entomb, relics of the four last Buddhas—the staff of Krakuchunda, the water-pot of Gunaguna; the bathing-robe of Kasyapa, and eight hairs from the head of Gautama, or Sakyasinha.—(Wilson's *Mill*, ix., 50. Also Hough, Symes, Snodgrass, Trant, and Havelock.)

‡ Auber gives the tradition upon the authority of Col. Hopkinson, who commanded the Madras artillery in the Burmese war.—(ii., 579.) Trant also mentions it.—(*Two Years in Ava*, 241.)

directed attempts of the various forces dispatched against them from Ava.

The provinces of Assam and Cachar were captured by troops sent from Hindoostan, with the aid of native auxiliaries. In January, 1825, 11,000 men were assembled in Chittagong, and dispatched, under General Morrison, to Arracan, with instructions to reduce that province, and then join Sir Archibald Campbell on the Irawaddy. The first object of the mission was fulfilled; but ignorance of the Aeng Pass rendered the Youmadoung mountains an impracticable barrier, and prevented the performance of the latter order. By the close of the rainy season one-fourth of the men were dead, and more than half the survivors in hospital, from the unhealthiness of the climate. The remainder were therefore recalled, with the exception of a few divisions left on coast stations. Happily the war had been more successfully prosecuted in Ava. The whole of Tenasserim was conquered by detachments from Rangoon* before the close of 1824; and in the following February, General Campbell prepared to advance, by land and water, against Prome, the second city of Ava. On the 25th of March, the troops came in sight of Donabew, a fortified place, where the flower of the Burmese army lay encamped. Our flotilla was attacked without success. Bandoola, the ablest and most popular of the Burmese commanders, was killed by a shell; upon which Donabew was abandoned by the enemy and immediately occupied by order of General Campbell, who advanced against Prome, which was evacuated on his approach. The King of Ava had not yet lost hope: levies were raised in every part of the kingdom; and in November, a heterogeneous force marched under the command of the prime minister for the recovery of Prome. An engagement took place on the 1st of December, which terminated in the death of the Burmese leader and the dispersion of the entire force. The British general prepared to follow up his victory by marching on the capital, but his progress was delayed by overtures of peace, which proved to be mere pretexts to gain time. The same stratagem was repeated more than once; and even at the last, when the evident futility of resist-

ance seemed to attest the sincerity of the defeated Burmese, the boast of a military adventurer, that he would be answerable for the discomfiture of the invaders if enabled to lead an army against them, induced the renewal of offensive operations by the King of Ava. Troops to the number of 16,000 were assembled under the new leader, who was dignified by the name of Nuring Thuring, prince of Sunset (which our troops, being poor linguists, translated as prince of Darkness), and entrusted with the charge of covering the capital against the approach of the British army. The so-called "retrievers of the king's glory" encountered about 1,300 men, under Colonel Campbell (two brigades being absent on duty), and were dispersed with greater loss than had been sustained by their predecessors on any previous occasion. Their brave, though boastful leader, ventured to prostrate himself before the golden throne, and solicit a more powerful force, but was immediately put to death by the enraged and humiliated sovereign. No time could be spared now for procrastinating schemes if Ava were to be saved from the grasp of the English army, which marched on to Yandaboo, only forty-five miles distant. Two American missionaries (Messrs. Price and Judson), "the only negotiators in whom the king had any confidence," were dispatched to the British camp to conclude peace. General Campbell made no increase on the terms already stipulated for, and a treaty was finally concluded in February, 1826, by which the King of Ava ceded Arracan and Tenasserim to the English; agreed to pay them a crore of rupees (about a million sterling), to receive a resident at his court, and to grant to their ships the privileges enjoyed by his own. He likewise renounced all claim upon Asam, Jyntia, Cachar, and Munnipoor, which were to be placed under princes named by the British government.

The "peacock signet" was affixed to the treaty, the provisions of which were fulfilled, including the money stipulation, after some delay and discussion; and thus ended the first Burmese war. The dangers, disasters, and heavy cost of life and treasure involved therein, afforded strong arguments to both parties in favour of a durable peace.

* Among the expeditions sent against the English at Rangoon, was one under the immediate superintendence of the king's two brothers, and numerous astrologers. A band of warriors termed "invulnerables" by their countrymen, accompanied

the princes, and were remarkable for the elaborate tattooing of their bodies, which were covered with figures of animals, and literally inlaid with precious stones. Despite their name, and real though ill-directed valour, they fled before European musketry.

The main body of the invading force returned as they came, by the line of the Irawaddy; but a body of native infantry succeeded in finding a practicable route to the Aeng Pass, and thus clearly proved that nothing but ignorance of the geography of the country had, humanly speaking, been the sole means of preventing "a portion of General Morrison's army from wintering in Ava, instead of perishing in the mountains of Arracan."*

Before the termination of the Burmese war, proceedings had occurred in another quarter which involved a fresh appeal to arms. The successors of Runjeet Sing of Bhurtpoor, had faithfully observed the treaty of 1805. The latter of these rajahs, Baldeo Sing, had taken pains to ensure the protection of the supreme government for his son, Bulwunt Sing, a child of five years old, by entreating the political agent at Delhi, Sir David Ochterlony, to invest the boy with a *khelat*, or honorary dress, which was the form prescribed by Lord Wellesley as the official recognition necessary to legal succession on the part of all subsidiary and protected princes. The request of the rajah was granted early in 1824, in consideration of his infirm health; and his death a year after, not without suspicion of poison, was followed by a train of events which proved the justice of the precautions adopted on behalf of the heir. For about a month the reins of government rested quietly in the hands of the guardian and maternal uncle of the young rajah; but at the expiration of that time, the citadel was seized, the uncle murdered, and the boy made prisoner by Doorjun Sal (a nephew of the late Baldeo Sing), who assumed the direction of affairs. This daring usurpation involved a defiance to the British government, which Sir David Ochterlony felt keenly; he also knew on how slender a thread hung the life of the boy, for whose protection the honour of England had been solemnly pledged. An immediate demand for the surrender of Bulwunt Sing was refused; but the promptitude and determination with which it had been made, probably prevented another name from being added to the long list of Indian princes born too near a throne to escape death by a poisoned opiate, or the dexterous hand of an athlete. Sir David

was anxious to waste no time in inconclusive negotiation: he wished to march at once against Bhurtpoor, before the enemy should have opportunity to take measures of defence. With this intent, the veteran general, then in his sixty-eighth year (fifty preceding ones having been spent in India), set on foot the necessary preparations, which were arrested by counter-orders from the supreme government. The heavy pecuniary cost, and numerous disasters attendant on the early stages of the Burmese war, combined with mortifying recollections of the issue of the former siege of Bhurtpoor, rendered Lord Amherst reluctant to enter on an undertaking which, if unsuccessful, might, it was feared, add to existing embarrassments—that of "hostilities with every state from the Punjab to Ava."† The successful defence of this Indian fortress against Lake, was still the favourite vaunt of every secret and open foe to English supremacy: the repetition of such an event was to be avoided at any cost. The annulment of the recent measures may be vindicated as a necessary act; but there can be no excuse for the harsh and peremptory manner in which it was enforced, to the bitter mortification of Ochterlony, who after being before deprived of the position of Delhi resident by Sir George Barlow, was now compelled to tender his resignation, which he survived only a few months.‡

Doorjun Sal attributed the conduct of the British government to fear, and was consequently emboldened to drop the submissive tone which he had adopted while military preparations were in progress, and assert his claims, not as regent, but as rajah. The new Delhi resident, Sir Charles Metcalfe, advocated the same policy as that which had cost his predecessor so dearly; and his representations, in conjunction with the warlike proceedings of Doorjun Sal, induced the supreme government to resolve on espousing the cause of Bulwunt Sing. An attempt at negotiation having failed, an army, comprising about 21,000 men and above a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, marched against Bhurtpoor in December, 1825, under the direction of Lord Combermere. The garrison was believed to comprise 20,000 men, chiefly Rajpoots and Jats, with some Afghans; but the best defence of the fortress consisted in its thick high walls of indurated clay, rising from the edge of a broad and deep ditch, flanked by thirty-five tower-bastions, and strengthened by the

* Trant's *Two Years in Ava*, 447. Prof. Wilson's *Documents Illustrative of Burmese War*.

† Wilson's *Mill's India*, ix., 191.

‡ See Note to p. 421.

outworks of nine gateways. Of these fortifications several had been added since 1805: one in particular, termed the Bastion of Victory, was vauntingly declared to have been built with the blood and bones of Englishmen there laid low. On the previous occasion the besieged had, nevertheless, enjoyed advantages far superior to those on which they now relied. An immense number of troops, stated, doubtless with exaggeration, at 80,000,* were then assembled within the walls, whence they could issue at pleasure to draw supplies from the adjacent country; for the limited number of Lord Lake's force confined his operations to a single point. Moreover, the English at that time trusted too exclusively to hard fighting, and neglected the resources of engineering skill, especially the construction of mines—a measure now adopted by Lord Combermere, at the suggestion of Major Galloway† and Lieutenant Forbes of the engineers, who was on duty at the siege. The communication between the moat of the fortress and the extensive piece of water by which it was supplied, was cut off, the ditch nearly emptied, and mines were carried across and above it; while the operation of powerful batteries covered the approaches and kept down the fire of the enemy. By the middle of January the walls had been effectively breached, and the army impatiently waited the order to storm. It was given on the 18th, the appointed signal being the springing of a mine containing 10,000 lbs. of powder. The foremost of the storming party, in their anxiety to advance immediately after the explosion, crowded too near the opening, and the quakings of the earth, and the dull tremulous sound beneath their feet, came too late to save several of them from sharing the fate of numbers of the enemy assembled to defend the breach, who perished in the convulsion which darkened the air with dense clouds of dust and smoke, and hurled disjointed masses of the hardened ramparts in all directions. The fate of their comrades gave a momentary check to the ardour of the assailants; but the order to advance was issued and obeyed—the troops scaled the ramparts, and after overcoming a resolute resistance at different points, gained possession of the town and outworks, at the cost of about 600 killed and wounded. The

loss of the enemy was estimated at 14,000, of whom 8,000 were slain in the assault; many being cut off by the British cavalry while attempting to escape through the gates on the western face of the fortress. The citadel surrendered in the afternoon. At the commencement of the assault, Doorjun Sal had quitted the fortress with his wife and two sons, escorted by forty horsemen, and sought refuge in an adjoining wood, where he remained for several hours, and then endeavoured to escape unperceived. The attempt failed; the fugitives were overtaken by a troop of native cavalry, and secured without opposition. Doorjun Sal was sent as a prisoner of state to Allahabad, and the young rajah reinstated on the throne of his ancestors; but though the nominal regency was made over to the principal widow of Baldeo Sing, and the partial management of affairs entrusted to his leading ministers, the paramount authority was vested in a British resident permanently appointed to Bhurtpoor. The army appropriated booty to the amount of about £22,000. Before the fall of Bhurtpoor, the conduct of the Ava war, though not entirely approved, procured an earldom for Lord Amherst. Lord Combermere was created a viscount. The diplomatic arrangements made during this administration were of some importance. In 1824, Malacca, Singapore, and the Dutch possessions on the continent of India, were ceded by the King of the Netherlands in exchange for the British settlement of Bencoolen, in Sumatra. Dowlut Rao Sindia died in March, 1827, leaving no son. His favourite, but not principal wife, Baiza Bye, was, in accordance with his wish, suffered to adopt a child and assume the regency—a procedure for which the consent of the company was solicited and obtained, provision for the continued maintenance of a British contingent being made by the advance of a loan or deposit of eighty lacs of rupees, the interest of which, at five per cent., was to be employed in the support of the troops.

Lord Amherst visited the titular king of Delhi early in 1827, and then repaired to Simla on the lower range of the Himalaya, which from that time became the favourite retreat of the governors-general of India, from its beauty and salubrity. While there, hostilities broke out between Russia and Persia, and the latter and of course much weaker power demanded the aid of the Calcutta government, in accord-

* Creighton's *Siege of Bhurtpoor in 1825-26*, p. 152.

† Better known as Major-general Galloway, the author of a valuable work on the mud forts of India.

ance with the treaty concluded at Tehran in 1814. The point at issue regarded the boundary line between the two countries. The cabinet of St. Petersburg positively refused to accept the arbitration of British officers; and the result was, that a struggle ensued, in which the British took no part; and the Persians, being worsted, were compelled to make peace with Russia by the surrender of the contested territory, in February, 1828.

In the same month Lord Amherst resigned his position, and returned to England. The restoration of tranquillity had enabled him to pay some attention to civil matters; and the diffusion of education had been promoted by the formation of collegiate institutions at Agra and at Delhi, as also by the establishment of schools in various provincial towns. The pressure of financial difficulties impeded the full execution of these as well as of other measures required to lighten the burdens and stimulate the commerce of the people of India. The war with Ava had necessitated heavy disbursements. In two years (1824 and '25), the sum of nineteen million sterling had been raised; and at the close of the Amherst administration, "the financial prospects of the country were of a most alarming complexion."* Nearly eighteen months elapsed before the arrival of a new governor-general, and during that time the supreme authority rested in the able hands of the senior member of council, Butterworth Bayley, who busily employed himself in laying the foundation of various internal reforms, which were carried out during the ensuing—

BENTINCK ADMINISTRATION, 1828 TO 1835.
—After his recall from the government of Madras, in 1807, Lord William Bentinck had remonstrated forcibly against the injustice of making him the victim of measures adopted without his cognizance; and his arguments being seconded by influential family connexions (with Mr. Canning and the Portland family), he eventually obtained the appointment of governor-general, and in July, 1828, arrived in Calcutta. At that time unaccustomed tranquillity prevailed throughout India, and the character of Lord William Bentinck was considered the best guarantee against its disturbance by any aggressive or domineering spirit on the

part of the English. A vivacious French traveller (Jacquemont) declared that the actual possessor of the sceptre of the Great Mogul thought and acted like a Pennsylvanian quaker: yet some of the acts of this administration would certainly not have been sanctioned by the great American coloniser. The influence of Lady Bentinck was unquestionably of the best description; and the improved tone of thought and feeling which pervaded the society of government-house, diffused itself throughout Calcutta and the British presidencies.† All the support derivable from a manly and conscientious spirit, was needed by one who came out burdened with the execution of immediate and sweeping retrenchments. No opposition was made to the extensive reduction of the army; but the old question of *batta* (extra pay) which had called forth the energies of Clive, became afresh the source of bitter discontent. The total diminution, on the present occasion, did not exceed £20,000 per annum; but it fell heavily on individuals: and although the governor-general could not avoid enforcing the accomplishment of stringent orders, he was thereby rendered permanently unpopular with the military branch of the service. The press commented freely on the *half-batta* regulations, and the discontented officers were wisely suffered to vent and dissipate their wrath in angry letters. The same forbearance was not manifested when the excessive flagellation, which at this period disgraced the discipline of the army, became the theme of censure; for Lord W. Bentinck, "though a liberal to the very core," held, as had been proved at Vellore, very stern notions on military affairs; and in this, as also in some other cases, showed himself decidedly "inclined to put a gag into the mouth of the press."‡

In 1829, a regulation was enacted, by which the practice of *suttee*—that is, of burning or burying alive Hindoo widows—was declared illegal, and the principal persons engaged in aiding or abetting it, became liable to trial for culpable homicide, and were punishable with imprisonment and fine. This enactment was far from exciting the expected degree of opposition. The same unlooked-for facility attended another measure (denounced still more de-

* Wilson's continuation of Mill, ix., 234.

† The altered tone of Calcutta society may be conjectured, from the fact of Jacquemont's going on Sunday to the house of the chief justice, Sir Charles

Grey, to hear some music, play chess, and seek a refuge from the general devotion of the English.—(*Letters from India*, i., 101.)

‡ Kaye's *Life of Metcalfe*, ii., 253.

cisively) in prospect, as a perilous innovation, not on "the rights of women" only, but on those of the entire Hindoo community; namely, the abrogation of the intolerant laws which decreed the forfeiture of all civil rights as the penalty of conversion to Christianity. The convert not only became an outcast, but an outlaw; incapable of inheriting personal or family property. The wonder was that a Christian government had not sooner put a stop to such bigotry. Now, the necessary steps were taken with much caution, and the alterations were so mixed up with other ordinances, as to create little commotion or excitement even when first published.

In 1831, active measures were adopted for the extirpation of the numerous and formidable gangs of depredators, known by the name of Thugs or Phansi-gars; the former term (signifying a cheat) being the more common, the latter (denoting the bearer of a noose or phansi, wherewith to commit murder by strangulation) the less general, but equally appropriate designation. The lasso was not, however, necessary to these miscreants, whose horrible dexterity enabled them, with a strip of cloth, or an unfolded turban, to destroy the unwary traveller speedily and surely;—the dead body was then buried in the ground, and every trace of the crime carefully obliterated. Hundreds upon hundreds of husbands and fathers perished none knew how, save the members of this horrible confederacy, who, whether of Hindoo or Mohammedan origin, were usually thieves and murderers by hereditary descent. Of the doctrines of the Koran they were wholly ignorant, and of Brahminism they knew nothing but its worst superstitions; which are those connected with the sanguinary worship of the goddess Doorga or Cali, the wife of Siva, whom they regarded as their peculiar patroness, and looked to for guidance and counsel, which they believed to be communicated through the medium of the flight and utterance of birds, beasts, and reptiles. Fearful oaths of secrecy were interchanged; and the difficulty of detection was enhanced by the consummate art which enabled the stealthy assassin to maintain the bearing of an industrious peasant or busy trader. Remorse seems to have been well-nigh banished from this community by the blinding influence of the strange predestinarian delusion that they were born to rob and kill their fellow-men—destined for

this end by Providence by a law similar to that which impels the savage beast of the forest to slay and devour human beings. "Is any man killed from man's killing?" was their favourite argument. "Are we not instruments in the hand of God?" The mysterious workings of that almighty and ever-present power, which controls the actions, but leaves the will free, was unthought of by these unhappy men, whose excesses rendered them a by-word of fear and loathing throughout India. Lord Hastings made some efforts for their suppression by military detachments, but with little effect. Summary and organised measures of police were adopted by Lord Bentinck, and ably carried out by Mr. Smith, Major Sleeman, and other functionaries. In the course of six years (1830 to 1835) 2,000 Thugs were arrested and tried at Indore, Hyderabad, Saugor, and Jubbulpore, of whom about 1,500 were convicted and sentenced to death, transportation, or imprisonment. The strange *esprit de corps* which for a time sustained them, at length gave way; many purchased pardon at the expense of full and free confession: formidable gangs were thus reduced to a few scattered and intimidated individuals; and the Thugs became a bugbear of past times.

The most exceptionable feature in the Bentinck administration was the deposition of the rajah of Coorg, Veer Rajendra Wudiyar, and the conversion of his mountainous principality into a province of the Madras presidency. The immediate occasion appears to have been a domestic quarrel with his sister and her husband, which led them to seek the protection of the British resident at Mysoor. The rajah was described as fierce, cruel, and disposed to enter on intrigues against the supreme government with the rajah of Mysoor. These vague charges, together with some angry letters, demanding the surrender of his fugitive relations, and the imprisonment of a servant of the company, were considered to justify the dispatch of a powerful force for the subjugation of Coorg. The British advanced in four divisions, and entered the principality from as many quarters. The alleged unpopularity of the rajah was contradicted by the determination of his defenders, despite a proclamation offering protection to person and property as the price of neutrality; but the efforts of the brave mountaineers were rendered unavailing, less by the overwhelming superiority of

numbers and discipline on the part of the invaders, than by the avowed disinclination of Veer Rajundra to organised opposition against the powerful protectors of his ancestors. Merkara, the capital of Coorg, was captured in April, 1834, and the rajah, with his family, surrendered unconditionally. A committee of inquiry was instituted into the charges adduced against him, and the search made after the seizure of Merkara, brought to light the bodies of seventeen persons, including three relatives of the rajah, who had been put to death by decapitation or strangling, and thrown into a pit in the jungle. This was a melancholy revelation; but such severities are unhappily quite consistent with the ordinary proceedings of despotic governments; and it may well be doubted whether, even if proved beforehand, they could warrant the interference of a foreign state for the deposition of the prince by whom they were committed, in opposition to the will of the people he governed. Certainly the assumption of sovereignty over the Coorgs could be excused only by the most rigid adherence to the promise given, "that their civil rights and religious usages should be respected, and that the greatest desire should invariably be shown to augment their security, comfort, and happiness. How far these objects have been effected," adds Professor Wilson, "may admit of question; but the province has remained at peace, and the Coorgs have shown no disposition to reassert their independence."*

The rajah became a pensioner on the E. I. Cy. Some few years ago he came to England, bringing with him a daughter, a lady-like and intelligent child, to be educated as a Christian. Queen Victoria, by a graceful act of spontaneous kindness calculated to endear her to the vast Indian population beneath her sway, officiated in person as godmother to the young stranger, who, it is to be hoped, will live to merit and enjoy a continuance of the royal favour. The rajah himself has no trace, either in countenance or bearing, of the insane cruelty ascribed to him; and the satisfactory arrangement of the pecuniary question†

* Continuation of Mill's *India*, ix., 359.

† Relating to the proprietary right to a large sum of money invested by the prince and his family in the Anglo-Indian funds, the interest of which had been regularly paid to the rajah, Veer Rajundra, up to the time of his deposition, which the E. I. Cy. now appear disposed to regard as confiscated.

‡ The efforts of Lord W. Bentinck were especially

now at issue between him and the E. I. Cy. is desirable, as the best means of strengthening the confidence of Indian princes in the good faith of the nation in general.

Whatever view may be taken of the conduct of Lord W. Bentinck in this case, and of certain complex arrangements, of comparatively small interest, with Oude, Mysoor, Nagpoor, Jeypoor, and other Indian states, there can be no doubt that the general result of his administration was highly beneficial to the cause of religious civilisation.‡ Public institutions, whether for educational or charitable purposes, were warmly encouraged; and the almost exclusive agency of European functionaries, which had been the radical defect of the Cornwallis system, was to some extent remedied by the employment of natives in offices of trust and emolument,—not, indeed, to the extent which they have a right to expect eventually, but as much perhaps as the circumstances of the time warranted. The opening of the "overland route" by way of the Red Sea, Egypt, and the Mediterranean, and the consequent reduction of the length of transit from four or five months to forty or fifty days (an immense boon to the Anglo-Indian community), was effected mainly through the instrumentality of the late Lieutenant Waghorn, R.N.

The navigation of the Ganges by steam-vessels was attempted, and proved entirely successful.§ Measures were adopted to procure the unobstructed navigation of the Indus, with a view to the extension of British trade with the countries to the westward as far as the Caspian Sea, and also in the hope of establishing a commanding influence on the Indus, in order to counteract the consequences which might be anticipated from the complete prostration of Persia, and its subservience to the designs of Russia against British India. The orders of the cabinet of St. James were positive, and Lord W. Bentinck must therefore be acquitted of blame for the complex relations formed with the Mohammedan states of Bahawalpoor, Sind, and Afghanistan, and especially with the wily and ambitious Seik, Runjeet Sing, to whom a present of several

directed to the diffusion of the English language among the natives—a measure difficult indeed, but highly desirable in the sight of all their well-wishers.

§ The first voyage between Bombay and Suez, made by the *Hugh Lindsay* in 1830, occupied thirty days; the second, in the same year, only twenty-two. The passage between England and India now requires fewer weeks than it formerly did months.

English horses, of unusual size and stature, were presented by Lieutenant Burnes, in the name of William IV., in October, 1831.

The renewal of the charter of the E. I. Cy. for the term of twenty years (1833 to 1853), was attended with a complete change in the constitution of that powerful body, which, after commencing in a purely commercial spirit, now consented to place in abeyance its exclusive privileges of trade with China as well as with India, but retained its political rights; and, in conjunction with the Board of Control, continued to direct the affairs of Hindoostan. The fixed dividend guaranteed to the shareholders, and charged upon the revenues of India, the means of redeeming the company's stock, with other arrangements then made, are set forth in the opening page of this history. Lord William Bentinck resigned his position on account of ill-health, and quitted India early in 1835. The brief provisional sway of Sir Charles Metcalfe was distinguished by a measure which procured him much exaggerated applause and equally indiscriminate censure. This act was the removal of the restrictions on the public press of India, which, though rarely enforced, were still in existence. It is worthy of remark, that the liability to government interference was confined to Europeans; for native editors could publish anything short of a direct libel: and after the banishment of Mr. Silk Buckingham by Mr. Adam, his paper was continued by a successor of mixed race, an Anglo-Indian, whom the law did not affect. The views of Sir Charles Metcalfe, with regard to the precarious nature of our Indian empire, were of a decidedly exaggerated and alarmist character. In 1825, he had declared the real dangers of a free press in India to be, "its enabling the natives to throw off our yoke;" and a minute recorded by him in October, 1830, expressed, with some sharpness, the inconvenience attendant on the proceedings of government finding their way into the newspapers. Despite some apparent inconsistency, the strenuous advocacy of the freedom of the press, at all hazards, would have been a proceeding worthy his frank and manly character; but it would be difficult to justify his conduct in enacting a measure, however laudable in itself, in opposition to the will, and, as it was generally supposed, to the interests of his employers. The change could scarcely have been long delayed; for now that Englishmen were to

be suffered to settle at pleasure in India, it was not likely they would tamely submit to have summary deportation held over them as the penalty of offending against the prerogative of a despotic governor, in a time of external and internal tranquillity.

AUCKLAND ADMINISTRATION: 1835 TO 1842.—The person first nominated as the successor of Lord William Bentinck was Lord Heytesbury; but the brief interval of power enjoyed by the Tory ministry having expired before his lordship could quit England, the appointment was cancelled, the large sum granted as usual for outfitting expenses being forfeited by the E. I. Cy.

The restored Whig cabinet, under Lord Melbourne, bestowed the Indian viceroyalty on Lord Auckland, a nobleman of amiable character and business habits, who, it was generally supposed, might be safely entrusted with the charge of the supreme government, which had certainly never been assumed by any preceding functionary under more favourable circumstances. Perfect tranquillity, a diminishing debt, and increasing commerce, seemed to promise an easy and honourable administration; unhappily, it proved the very reverse. The first event of importance was one which, though vindicated by an author whose impartiality reflects equal credit on himself and the E. I. Cy.,* nevertheless appears to the writer of the present work an act of cruel injustice, the blame of which rests chiefly on the Bombay authorities; for the new governor-general gave but a tardy and reluctant assent to their decision. The measure in question was the deposition of the rajah of Sattara, the legitimate successor of Sevajee, who had been placed on the musnud in 1819. The policy or impolicy of his reinstatement need not be discussed. Pertab Sein, then twenty-seven years of age, showed unbounded delight at his restoration to what he undisguisedly viewed as real power, and diligently set about improving his little sovereignty. Successive residents at his court—Grant Duff, generals Briggs and Robertson, and Colonel Lodwick—bore witness to the general excellence of his administration from 1819 to 1837-'8, the last gentleman with some qualification, the specified drawback being the new feature of weakness of mind manifested by an excessive addiction to Brahminical superstitions, and the employment

* Mr. Edward Thornton, head of the statistical department at the India House.

of women in the management of elephants, as guards, and in other unusual offices. These complaints were the first indication of an altered tone on the part of the local authorities, and were probably the earliest results of a conspiracy formed against the rajah in his own palace. The favourable nature of the testimony regarding his conduct previously sent to England, had drawn from the Court of Directors repeated expressions of warm and generous praise. In 1829 he was declared to be "remarkable among the princes of India for mildness, frugality, and attention to business;" in 1831, "his disposition and capacity for government" are again noticed; and in December, 1835, a letter was addressed to him, lauding the "exemplary fulfilment" of his duties as "well calculated to promote the prosperity of his dominions and the happiness of his people," and acknowledging "the liberality displayed in executing various public works of great utility, which has so justly raised your reputation in the eyes of the princes and people of India, and gives you an additional claim to our approbation, respect, and applause." This testimony was accompanied by a handsome sword, the most marked tribute of respect which could be offered to a Maharatta. The letter and sword were arbitrarily detained by the Bombay government, and never presented to the rajah, whose feelings about this time became irritated by a controversy with them regarding certain jaghires to which he laid claim. A conspiracy was, it is believed, concocted against him by a vindictive, ungrateful, and profligate brother, and the rajah was accused of endeavouring to procure the overthrow of British power by three extraordinary measures:—first, by striving to corrupt the entire Anglo-Indian army through two native officers of a regiment stationed at Sattara; second, by inducing the Portuguese at Goa to land 30,000 European troops in India, who were to be marched overland for the purpose; third, by corresponding with the fugitive ex-rajah of Nagpoor, who had neither character, influence, nor ability,—not a shilling, nor an acre of territory,—and was himself dependent

on charity. The seals of the rajah were forged, pretended correspondence produced, and other artful schemes successfully carried through. There was at this time a vague feeling of alarm throughout India relative to a general rising against British supremacy: the press at home and abroad gave countenance to the idea; and Sir Charles Metcalfe declared he should not be surprised "to wake some fine morning and find the whole thing blown up." Sir Robert Grant, then governor of Bombay, and some officials around him, fell into the trap, and despatches of several hundred paragraphs were written regarding the alleged application of the rajah for the aid of 30,000 Portuguese soldiers, when, at that time, *thirty* would have been an impossibility; and great alarm was professed lest 200,000 British soldiers—Mussulmen as well as Hindoos, who had ever proved themselves true to their salt—should be seduced from their allegiance by this petty prince, who was no warrior, but an excellent farmer and landlord. The supreme government of India at first treated the affair with the contempt it merited: but reiterated calumnies began to take effect; and the alarm once given, the most absurd stories, many of which carried with them the proof of their falsehood,* were believed by men who were afterwards ashamed to confess their credulity. Sir R. Grant died, and Sir James Carnac, then chairman of the Court of Directors, succeeded him. He went to Sattara in 1839, and required the rajah to acknowledge his guilt, sign a new treaty, and all would be forgiven. Pertab Sein refused to declare himself a traitor to the British government; asked for a copy of the charges against him, and demanded a fair hearing and a public trial. Sir J. Carnac was a kind and moderate man; but the strong prejudices—not to use a harsher term—of his associates warped his judgment, and led him to view the conduct of the rajah as the continued contumacy of a rebel, instead of the offended feelings of an innocent man. A body of troops marched at midnight into the palace, led by the successful plotter, Appa Sahib: the rajah was made prisoner in his bed, all his property seized; and ere morning

* Since the deposition of the Sattara rajah, on the evidence of forged documents and perjured witnesses, a similar case has come to light. Ali Morad, one of the Ameers of Sind, having been convicted of forgery, had a large portion of his territories confiscated by the British government. The accuser,

Sheik Ali Hussein, had been prime minister of the chief, and was dismissed for malpractices: at his death (8th May, 1853), he confessed that all he had sworn against Ali Morad was untrue, and that he had given false evidence for purposes of revenge.—(*Bombay Gazette*, 10th May, 1853.)

dawned, the victim of a foul conspiracy was ignominiously hurried away as a prisoner to Benares, where he died. The brother who had caused his ruin was placed on the throne. After a few years of profligacy and indolence Appa Salib died, leaving no son, and the little principality of Sattara devolved, in default of heirs, upon the British government. The whole transaction is painful, and reflects little credit on any concerned therein: time, the revealer of truth, has exposed the folly and injustice of the procedure; and had the ex-rajah survived, some measure of justice would probably have been rendered him.*

The next and all-absorbing feature of the Auckland administration is the Afghan war, to understand the origin of which it is necessary to explain the condition of the territories on our western frontier. Zemaun Shah, the Afghan ruler of Cabool, against whom a treaty was negotiated with Persia in 1801, by Sir John Malcolm, was deposed and blinded in the same year by his brother Mahmood—treatment precisely similar to that bestowed by him on his immediate predecessor, Humayun. Mahmood was, in turn, displaced by a fourth brother, named Soojahool-Moolk. With unwonted clemency the conqueror refrained from inflicting extinction of sight, which, though not a legal disqualification to sovereign power, usually proves an insuperable bar to the claims of any candidate. Soojah could not keep the throne he had gained; but being expelled by the reviving strength of Mahmood, sought refuge with Runjeet Sing, who plundered him of all his valuables, including the famous Koh-i-Noor (the gem of the English Exhibition of 1851), and made him prisoner. By the exertion of an unexpected amount of skill and resolution, Shah Soojah succeeded in making his escape in the disguise of a mendicant, and reached the British station of Loodiana in September, 1816, whither his family, together with Zemaun Shah, had previously found refuge. Mahmood did not, however, possess the throne in peace. His vizier, Futteh Khan, an able chief, who had been mainly instrumental in carrying out the late revolution, evinced indications of a desire to elevate his numerous brothers to almost exclusive authority, and to make the Barukzye clan, of which

he was hereditary chief, the governing class. The youngest of his brethren, the afterwards famous Dost Mohammed, treacherously occupied the fortress of Herat, committed great excesses there, and even profaned the harem by seizing the ornaments of its inmates, and especially by violently tearing away a jewelled girdle from the person of one of the royal princesses.

The insulted lady sent the torn robe to her relative, Prince Kamran, the son of Mahmood Shah, with a demand for vengeance. Dost Mohammed fled to Cashmere, where his brother, Azim Khan, was governor. Futteh Ali was made prisoner, and blinded by the dagger of Kamran. Subsequently, on his refusal to call upon his brothers to surrender, the unfortunate vizier was literally hacked to pieces by the courtiers in attendance on the king and prince.

Dost Mohammed raised an army, and made himself master of the city of Cabool, in 1818. Shah Mahmood and Kamran established themselves in Herat, and the usurper turned his attention to the affairs of government, and proved a much better ruler than either of his predecessors. He had many difficulties to contend with, including the jealous intrigues of his brothers, several of whom became in fact independent princes. Their hostility encouraged Shah Soojah to attempt regaining possession of Cabool, but without effect. At the commencement of Lord Auckland's administration, Dost Mohammed reigned over the chief remaining portion of the Doorani kingdom founded by Ahmed Shah, which, at the time of the death of that ruler, extended from the west of Khorassan to Sirhind, and from the Oxus to the sea. Of the seventeen provinces it then comprised, only six now remained—namely, Cabool, Bameean, Ghoreband, Ghuznee, Candahar, and Jelalabad. Beloochistan had become independent, under a chief named Mohammed Khan, in 1802; Khorassan had been recovered by Persia; Herat was retained by Prince Kamran, after the death of Mahmood; Balkh was taken by the King of Bokhara, in 1823; and the Punjab, Mooltan, Dera Ghaza Khan, Dera Ismael Khan, and lastly Peshawur, fell to the share of Runjeet Sing. Sindh was still nominally dependent on Cabool; but its rulers—three brothers

* Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., Mr. John Forbes, M.P., and several leading directors of the E. I. Co., with Mr. Joseph Hume, M.P., Arthur Lewis, of the chancery bar, and many other members of the Court

of Proprietors, who were the warm friends of the ex-rajah, never ceased to seek a hearing and trial for him, and entertained a strong and permanent conviction of his innocence.

who governed conjointly under the title of "the Ameers"—generally needed the presence of an army to compel the payment of their arrears of tribute. Cabool itself, and a considerable portion of the Hazerah country, was under the immediate sway of Dost Mohammed; Candahar, and the adjacent territory, was held by his three brothers, Kohen-dil-Khan, Rehem-dil-Khan, and Mehri-dil-Khan, under the name of sirdars or governors.

The divided and independent governments beyond the Indus were in a condition well calculated to secure our power, without any infraction of the strict neutrality which the English rulers so ostentatiously declared it their desire to preserve, when, in 1838, an attack was made on Herat by the Shah of Persia, with the aid of Russian officers.* Herat has been called the key of Afghanistan: it is also the gate towards which all the great roads from Central Asia to India converge; and the Calcutta authorities became exceedingly alarmed at the probability of its falling under the influence of Russia. They became very solicitous that Afghanistan should maintain entire independence, and reject the proffered alliance with the Muscovite court. Lieutenant Burnes was dispatched on an embassy to Dost Mohammed, or "the Dost," as he was commonly called; but although the instructions of Burnes were explicit regarding the non-reception of Russian envoys, and other demands to be exacted on the part of the English, he had nothing beyond idle professions of regard to offer in return; not even mediation with Runjeet Sing for the restoration of Peshawar, which the Seik conqueror was willing to surrender to any one except to the ruler of Cabool, from whom it had been taken.

The contrast between the magnificent presents brought by Mountstuart Elphinstone to Afghanistan, on a former occasion, with the pistol and telescope, pins, needles, and playthings, now offered to the Dost for himself and the inmates of the zenana, could not but be painfully felt; yet the chief knew the value of British protection, and was not disposed to take offence lightly. But he could not afford to reject the direct offers of assistance, in men and money, made by the secretary of

the Russian legation, without some clear guarantee against the evil effects of such rejection; and as this was positively refused, he had literally no alternative but to accept the Russo-Persian alliance. It would have been only common prudence, on the part of the supreme government, to have waited the issue of the siege of Herat, before proceeding further; but Lord Auckland was unhappily enjoying the cool breezes of Simla, away from his legitimate advisers at Calcutta, and was, it is said, considerably under the influence of two or three clever and impulsive men, who may have been excellent secretaries and amusing table-companions, but were very ill-adapted for wary counsellors.† It would have been an easy matter to convert Dost Mohammed, the sirdars of Candahar, and the whole Barakzye clan, into firm allies; nevertheless, Lord Auckland, in an hour of weakness and indecision, was induced to seek the co-operation of Runjeet Sing for the restoration of Shah Soojah; and, although the defeat of the Persian army, and its withdrawal, after a ten months' siege,‡ secured the independence of Herat, and removed one main incentive to war, the projected invasion was carried out despite the apathy of the Seik ruler (now fast sinking to his grave, under the combined influence of age and the most hateful excesses) and the scarcely disguised distrust of Soojah, who could not comprehend why the assistance repeatedly refused by Lord W. Bentinck, was bestowed unasked by Lord Auckland.

Perhaps so perilous an enterprise was never more rashly and needlessly undertaken. It was wrong in principle, weak in execution, and appalling in its results. Shah Soojah was not even presumptive heir to the usurped dominions of his grandfather; for Kamran, the son of the elder brother Mahmood, had a prior claim. The professed object of the Tripartite Treaty now formed, viz., to restore a legitimate sovereign to the throne from whence he had been wrongfully expelled, was therefore absolutely false; and as if to make the spirit of the whole transaction more evident, Runjeet Sing affixed his signature to the treaty at Lahore, June, 1838, with the ill-gotten Koh-i-Noor gleaming on his arm.§ In return for furnishing a few thousand troops

* One of the alleged reasons being the activity with which the slave-trade was carried on at Herat.

† Mr. H. Torrens, and John Colvin, Lord Auckland's private secretary.—*Kaye's War in Afghanistan*.

‡ Lt. Eldred Pottinger cheered, counselled, and fought with the garrison throughout the weary siege.

§ This famous stone is said by several modern writers on the Afghan war to have formed part of

to be paid by Shah Soojah, Runjeet Sing was to be confirmed in possession of all the territories (including Peshawur) wrested by him from Cabool.* As to the English, they were willing to lavish men and money on the trappings of war, and to get up "a grand military promenade," for the sake of terrifying Russia by a formidable demonstration of our power and energy. Those† who ventured to speak of the dreary defiles, inclement climate, and, above all, of the warlike temper of the people upon whom a rejected yoke was to be reimposed by English bayonets, were censured as timid, prejudiced, or misinformed; and the assembling of the "army of the Indus" was a source of agreeable excitement, fraught with promotions and appointments, commissariat contracts, and honours from the Crown; for, despite the neutral policy urged by the home authorities, it was pretty evident that a brilliant campaign was no less certain to procure for its promoters rank and emolument, than to inflict new burdens on the Indian revenues, and increase the pressure of taxes which it was alike the duty and the interest of the government to mitigate.

A declaration of war was issued from Simla, in 1838, and a British force was speedily gathered of 28,350 men, partly from Bengal, partly from Bombay. It was deemed advisable by the governor-general that the Shah should "enter Afghanistan surrounded by his own troops;" and, for this end, about

Shah Jehan's peacock throne, which was carried off from Hindoostan by Nadir Shah; but there does not seem evidence to support the statement. Several diamonds of extraordinary value were seized by different invaders, and one in particular was given by the exiled Humayun to his ungracious host the Shah of Persia.—(See p. 91.)

* The concessions made to Runjeet Sing at this period were no less undignified than unwise. At the meeting which took place with Lord Auckland at Ferozepoor, caresses were lavished on the "lion of the Punjab," who though now a decrepit and paralysed old man, continued to outrage public decency by the practice of shameful sensualities. There he sat in his golden chair, shaped like a hip-bath, with his attenuated limbs gathered beneath him, and his single restless eye flashing in rivalry of the Koh-i-Noor (the only ornament he wore, except a string of 300 pearls of the finest water and the size of small marbles), listening to the civilities of the English authorities, which happily did not extend to compliance with his previous demand for an English wife.—(Osborne's *Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing*, 199.) The fact that the old debauchee entertained some at least of his official visitors with the "burra tomacha" (great fun) of intoxicating "nautch" girls, for the sake of seeing them beat and abuse one another, gives force to the remark of a

4,000 camp followers‡ were levied from the E. I. Cy.'s military stations, and placed under the nominal command of Timur, the eldest son of Soojah-ool-Moolk; the whole being led by British officers, and paid from the British treasury. Runjeet Sing was to supply a contingent of 6,000 men, and to station 15,000 men as an army of observation in Peshawur. The commissariat arrangements were extremely deficient, and the enormous number of camp followers, amounting to nearly 100,000 persons, imparted new difficulties to a march of extraordinary length, through an almost unexplored and hostile territory. The invading force had only physical difficulties, and the depredations of certain mountain tribes, to encounter on the road to Candahar. It was expected that the Ameers of Sind would offer opposition on the score of the manifest infraction of the treaty of 1832, by which the E. I. Cy., when desirous to open the navigation of the Indus, expressly declared that it would be employed by them solely for mercantile uses. The Ameers, however, saw the folly of remonstrating with a powerful force thirsting for the plunder of the rich city of Hyderabad. They paid £100,000 as an instalment of the £280,000 demanded by Shah Soojah on the favourite plea of arrears of tribute, and surrendered the fortified island of Bukkur in the Indus, the possession of which was deemed necessary to the security of the English force. The army of the Indus

British officer, who, commenting on the indulgence evinced to the vices of Runjeet Sing, writes—"It was impossible not to feel that this complaisance was carried a little too far, when he was exhibited in the character of a Bacchus or Silenus, in the presence of an assemblage of English gentlewomen, and when their notions of decency were further outraged by the introduction, to whatever extent sanctioned by culpable usage in other parts of India, of bands of singing and dancing courtesans."—(Havelock's *War in Afghanistan*, i., 87.) After all the Seiks were not conciliated: they watched the Feringhees (foreigners) with extreme suspicion; and when their infirm old chief, in his anxiety to examine a present of two howitzers, fell prostrate before them, the accident was regarded as a fearful omen.

† In October, 1838, the author, deeply convinced of the unjust and perilous nature of the war, drew up a memorandum, which the Marquis Wellesley transmitted to Sir John Cam Hobhouse, then President of the Board of Control. His lordship addressed a subsequent communication to Sir John against the Afghan war, predicting that "our difficulties would commence where our military successes ended." The Duke of Wellington, Elphinstone, Edmonstone, Metcalfe, and other Indian statesmen took the same view of the question.

‡ Col. Dennie's *Campaigns in Afghanistan*, 51.

traversed the weary Bolan Pass, and the dangerous and difficult Kojuck defile with success, but at a fearful cost of life,* especially on the part of the camp followers, from heat and want of water. Candahar (the capital of Western Afghanistan), was occupied without resistance by Shah Soojah and his allies, in April, 1839. Kohun-dil-Khan and his brother sirdars fled as the foe advanced; and English gold scattered lavishly on all sides, enabled the returning monarch to win the temporary suffrage of several Barukzeye chiefs. In the following June the army under Sir John Keane and Shah Soojah left a garrison at Candahar and set out for Ghuznee. This ancient fortress proved stronger than had been expected; but a nephew of Dost Mohammed deserted from the garrison, and betrayed the important secret, that an entrance called the Cabool gate had not, like the rest, been built up with stone, but had been left slightly barricaded in the expectation of supplies. The besiegers, acting on this information, fastened bags of gunpowder upon the wooden door at night, and by setting them on fire effected a practicable breach, through which a storming party, led by Colonel Dennie, immediately secured an entrance, captured the town, and, after some hours' resistance, the citadel also, receiving little loss, but slaying 1,000 Afghans: 3,000 more were wounded or captured. Among the prisoners were about fifty fanatics of all ages, who had assumed the name of *Ghazee*, in right of being engaged in holy warfare against infidels. These men, the first taken in arms against Shah Soojah, "were hacked to death with wanton barbarity by the knives of his executioners."†

So much for the magnanimity of the restored monarch in his short hour of triumph. The campaign thus successfully opened, was to some extent overshadowed by tidings of the death of Runjeet Sing, in 1839; but notwithstanding the jealous dislike evinced towards the English by the new authorities at Lahore, the Seik contingent, wretchedly insufficient as it was, became serviceable in the hands of Colonel Wade; and this energetic officer, with his nominal coadjutor the Shahzada (Prince Timur), who was "an absolute cypher," contrived, partly by fighting,

partly by diplomacy, to traverse the formidable Khyber Pass, at the head of a motley assemblage of Hindoos, Seiks, and Afghans. Akber Khan, Dost Mohammed's favourite "fighting son," was recalled from his camp near Jellalabad, to join his father at Cabool, and the path being left open, Wade marched on and seized Jellalabad.

The position of Dost Mohammed was daily rendered more perilous by the desertion of his relatives and followers. Very shortly after the taking of Ghuznee, he attempted to compromise matters by offering to submit to the restoration of Shah Soojah, on condition of his own nomination to his late brother Futteh Khan's position of vizier. This proposition was of course rejected; for so far from being inclined to delegate authority to his opponent, Shah Soojah desired nothing better than to "hang the dog"—a procedure which the British envoy, Mr. Macnaghtan, does not appear to have considered otherwise than advisable, provided they could catch him.‡

The Dost desired to give the invaders battle at Maidan, on the Cabool river, but treachery and disaffection surrounded him on every side, and his camp at Urghundeh fairly fell to pieces. The venal Kuzzilbashs (or Persian guard) forsook the master whose salt they had eaten thirteen years. In vain he entreated them to stand by him in one charge against the Feringhees, that he might die with honour,—the spirit-stirring appeal fell on the listless ears of men determined to purchase safety by desertion; and, attended by a few faithful followers, Dost Mohammed in despair turned his horse's head towards the Hindoo-Koosh, leaving his guns standing.

Cabool opened its gates with "sullen, surly submission;" and Shah Soojah entered the Balla Hissar or palace-citadel in triumph, while his British allies sounded a long loud note of triumph, the European echoes of which were destined to die away in the very saddest cry of anguish and humiliation ever uttered by the proud conquerors of India. The authorities at Cabool soon discovered that the foreign bayonets and foreign gold which had been the means of replacing Shah Soojah on the throne of Afghanistan, were likewise the sole method of keeping him there. Lord Auckland desired the return of the entire "army of the Indus;" but the unpopularity of the Shah was too evident to admit of such a step, unless we were willing to confess the whole affair a

* Of 100,000 camp followers, only 20,000 reached Candahar.—(Capper's *Three Presidencies*, p. 212.)

† *Vide* John William Kaye's graphic and fearless *History of the War in Afghanistan*, i., 445.

‡ *Idem.*, 561.

failure, and escort his majesty back to Loodiana, or if he thought fit, leave him to take his chance among his own countrymen. An open confession of error, however mortifying, would have been incalculably wiser than following up one false step with a multitude of others. In 1839 a portion of the troops returned to Calcutta. The commander-in-chief, Sir John Keane, immediately proceeded to England, where he was elevated to the peerage by the title of Baron Keane of Ghuznee, and further remunerated by a pension of £2,000 per ann. for himself and his two next heirs male. The governor-general, from a baron, was made an earl. Mr. Macnaghten was created a baronet, and orders of the Bath were bestowed, not with the most discriminating hand.*

The winter of 1839 passed in tolerable tranquillity. The British took military possession of the country by establishing garrisons in the cities of Cabool and Candahar, and in the principal posts on the main roads to Hindoostan—viz., Ghuznee and Quettah on the west, Jellalabad and Ali-Musjid on the east. Some minor detachments were left in various other isolated positions; thus dividing a force which, united, was scarcely sufficient for its own protection. Moreover, the military authorities in Cabool, instead of retaining their position in the Balla Hissar, were induced to build costly and indefensible cantonments on the adjacent plain, in compliance with the scruples of Shah Soojah, who soon began to feel his throne somewhat too closely hedged in by foreign troops. The first flush of triumph over, he could not but find it a weary thing to live shut up in a fortress, despised by his own subjects; and as he looked forth from the Balla Hissar on the city beneath, he said "everything appeared to him shrunk small and miserable; and that the Cabool of his old age in no respect corresponded with the recollections of the Cabool of his youth."

The yearnings of romance were soon swallowed up in real dangers. Insurrections took place in various quarters. Dost Mohammed again appeared in arms, and several sharp encounters took place in the course of the year 1840; but the Afghans, despite some partial successes, offered no combined or systematic resistance. The Dost, after making a brave and successful stand at Purwan in November, thought the time had arrived when he

might, with a good grace, surrender himself to the English (into whose hands the ladies of his family had already fallen.) Turning from the field of battle in despair, he galloped towards Cabool, and twenty-four hours spent on the saddle, brought him face to face with the British envoy, who was returning homeward from an evening ride. Dost Mohammed sprang to the ground, tendered his sword, and claimed protection as a voluntary captive. The kindly peace-loving nature of Sir William had been sadly warped since he had exchanged the ordinary routine of official duties and scholarly recreations for the arduous post of counsellor to Shah Soojah; and immediately before this unlooked-for greeting, he had been inquiring with regard to the Dost—"Would it be justifiable to set a price on this fellow's head?" for "it appears that he meditates fighting with us so long as the breath is in his body." But the chivalrous bearing of the defeated Ameer banished all harsh thoughts. Sir William refused the proffered sword; and when the Dost was sent as a state prisoner to Hindoostan, actually advocated his being provided for by the British authorities "more handsomely than Shah Soojah had been," for the following memorable reason:—"The Shah had no claim upon us. We had no hand in depriving him of his kingdom; whereas, we ejected the Dost, who never offended us, in support of our policy, of which he was the victim." Lord Auckland tacitly admitted the fact by receiving the deposed ruler with extreme courtesy, and burdening the Indian population with a new pension of two lacs, or about £20,000 per ann. for his support. At this time the revenues of Cabool, gathered by force of arms, did not exceed fifteen lacs, and barely paid the ordinary expenses of government. The Anglo-Afghan treasury was well-nigh exhausted, and there were grounds for doubting whether the E. I. Cy. would not think a million and a quarter a-year too dear a price to pay for the maintenance of their nominee at Cabool. The reduction of outgoings was attempted by the diminution of the "black mail" paid to certain Khilji chiefs for checking the excesses committed by the predatory tribes who infested the passes. The experiment proved very dangerous; the Khiljies assumed a haughty tone; the Kojucks, and many tribes of whose very names the English had until now remained in happy ignorance, rose in

* Dennie's services at Ghuznee were overlooked.

what was misnamed "rebellion" against Shah Soojah. In Kohistan and the Khyber, that region of snowy precipices and roaring torrents, where every man is a good marksman behind his native rock, more than usual excitement prevailed. The British envoy, considering with some reason the state of Afghanistan to be at the best of times one of chronic unrest, paid too little heed to the numerous signs of an approaching crisis which alarmed Shah Soojah. The noses of the Dourani Khans (or lords) had, Macnaghten said, been brought to the grindstone, and all was quiet, from Dan to Beersheba.* Impressed with this agreeable conviction, he prepared to resign his position, and return to Hindoostan to fill the honourable station of governor of Bombay. His intended successor, Sir Alexander Burnes, had long ardently desired the office of envoy; but from the conflicting and contradictory character both of his official and private statements, it is difficult to say what his actual opinions were concerning the condition of the country and the feelings of the people. He must have known that the military occupation of Afghanistan (of necessity sufficiently unpopular) had been rendered peculiarly hateful and galling by his own unbridled licentiousness, and by that of other officers, whose example was closely imitated by the mass of the European soldiery. Lady Macnaghten, Lady Sale, and other Englishwomen resided within the cantonments, yet their presence did not check the excesses, the terrible retribution for which they were soon to share. Shah Soojah, whom Macnaghten declared to be "the best and ablest man in his dominions,"† and whose fidelity was evinced by the warnings he repeatedly gave the English authorities of the impending danger, and his entreaties that they would take up their abode in the Balla Hissar, remonstrated forcibly against the immorality of the officers, and pointed out the

indignation which it excited among his countrymen. "I told the envoy," writes the Shah to Lord Auckland, January, 1842, "what was going on, and was not listened to. I told him that complaints were daily made to me of Afghan women being taken to Burnes' moonshee (Mohun Lal), and of their drinking wine at his house, and of women being taken to the chaonee, and of my having witnessed it."‡ Kaye states, "the scandal was open, undisguised, notorious. Redress was not to be obtained. The evil was not in course of suppression. It went on till it became intolerable; and the injured then began to see that the only remedy was in their own hands."§

That remedy was the death of the leading offender, and the expulsion of the English from Afghanistan. Warnings of various kinds were not wanting; but they passed unheeded. The week fixed for the departure of the envoy arrived, and preparations were made for his journey, and for the comfort of his successor in office, and of the other functionaries during the coming winter, which was expected to pass like the two former ones, in a succession of pastimes, including shooting, card-playing, drinking,|| and various amusements, innocent or otherwise, according to the tastes and habits of those concerned. On the evening of the 1st November, 1841, Burnes formally congratulated Macnaghten on his approaching departure during a period of profound tranquillity.¶ At that very time a party of chiefs were assembled close at hand discussing in full conclave the means of redressing their national and individual wrongs. At daybreak on the following morning, Burnes was aroused by the message of a friendly Afghan, informing him of approaching danger, and bidding him quit the city and seek safety in the Balla Hissar or the cantonments. The vizier of Shah Soojah followed on the same errand, but all in vain; the doomed man sent to ask mili-

* News had arrived at Cabool, in the course of the summer, which greatly relieved the apprehensions of Macnaghten and Burnes, both of whom had a tendency to look out for dangers from afar, rather than guard against those by which they were immediately surrounded. The raising of the siege of Herat had only temporarily allayed their fears of Russian aggression, which were soon aroused by the dispatch of a powerful force, under General Perofski, ostensibly directed against the man-stealing, slave-holding principality of Khiva, but it was believed, intended to act offensively against the English. Whatever the true design may have been, it was frustrated by the intense cold and inaccessible character

of the country, which, together with pestilence, nearly destroyed the Russian army, and compelled Perofski to turn back without reaching Khiva.

† Kaye, i., 533. ‡ *Idem*, ii., 364. § *Idem*, i., 615.

|| Dost Mohammed prohibited the sale of a fiery spirit distilled from the grape. The English restored the Armenian manufacturers to full employment.

¶ It is asserted, that on the same day, intelligence so clear and full of a hostile confederacy had been given to Burnes, that he exclaimed the time had come for the British to leave the country. Burnes was impulsive, vacillating, ambitious, and unprincipled. It is possible that he deceived himself sometimes: it is certain that he constantly misled Macnaghten.

tary support, and persisted in remaining in his own abode, which adjoined that of Captain Johnson, paymaster of the Shah's forces. This officer was absent in cantonments, but the treasury was under the care of the usual sepoy guard, and they were ready and even desirous to fire on the insurgents. Burnes refused to give the necessary orders, in the hope of receiving speedy succour; meanwhile the crowd of stragglers grew into an infuriated mob, and his attempted harangue from the balcony was silenced by loud clamours and reproaches. Two officers had slept that night in the house of Sir Alexander: one of them, Lieutenant Broadfoot, prepared to sell his life dearly, and it is asserted, slew no less than six of his assailants before a ball struck him to the ground a corpse; the other, Lieutenant Charles Burnes, remained beside his brother while the latter offered redress of grievances, and a heavy ransom to the populace as the price of their joint lives. But in vain; the outraged Afghans loved vengeance better than gold; and after setting fire to the stables, a party of them burst into the garden, where they were fired upon by the sepoys under Lieutenant Burnes. Sir Alexander disguised himself in native attire, and strove to escape, but was recognised, or rather betrayed by the Cashmerian who had induced him to make the attempt. A fearful shout arose from the party in the garden on discovering his presence—"This is Secunder (Alexander) Burnes!" and in a few moments both brothers were cut to pieces by Afghan knives. The sepoys in charge of the treasury fought desperately, and surrendered their charge only with their lives. Massacre followed pillage; every man, woman, and child (Hindoo and Afghan) found in the two English dwellings perished;* finally, the buildings were fired; and all this with 6,000 British troops within half-an-hour's march of the city. The only energetic attempt made to check the insurrectionary movement emanated from the Shah, and was performed by one of his sons; but it proved unsuccessful, and the British authorities displayed an apathy quite inexplicable, even supposing the outbreak to have been directly occasioned by the ill conduct of its chief victim. General Elphinstone, the commander-in-chief, was an officer of high character, and of brave and kindly bearing;

but increasing physical infirmities pressed heavily on him; and before the catastrophe he had applied for his recall from Afghanistan, where, indeed, he ought never to have been sent. Between him and Macnaghten no sympathy existed: they could not understand each other, and never acted in concert. The one was despondent and procrastinating, the other hopeful and energetic, but too much given to diplomacy. The consequence of this tendency was the adoption of various compromising measures when the occasion loudly called for the most active and straightforward policy. Post after post was captured from the British in the immediate vicinity of Cabool, and it soon became evident that the out-stations were in extreme peril; for the insurrection, from being local, speedily became general. The "frightful extent" of the cantonments (erected before Elphinstone's arrival), the loss of a fort four hundred yards distant, in which the commissariat stores had been most improvidently placed, together with the deficiency of artillery, so disheartened and unnerved the general, that he suffered day after day to pass without any decisive effort to gain possession of the city, and began to urge on Macnaghten the propriety of making terms with the enemy. The king remained shut up in the Balla Hissar, "like grain between two millstones." He was a man of advanced age and weak purpose, and the hostility of his subjects being avowedly directed against the Feringhees, he strove to keep his crown upon his head, and his head upon his shoulders, by a trimming policy, which rendered him an object of distrust to both parties, and cost him eventually life as well as honour. Avarice had grown on him, and he beheld with extreme annoyance the sums of money lavished by the British envoy in the futile attempt to buy off the more influential of the confederate chiefs. The urgent solicitations of Elphinstone, the growing difficulty of obtaining supplies for the troops, the unsatisfactory results of daily petty hostilities, and the non-arrival of the reinforcements of men and money solicited by Macnaghten from Hindoostan, at length induced him to offer to evacuate Afghanistan on honourable terms. The tone adopted by the chiefs was so arrogant and offensive, that the conference came to an abrupt termination; both parties being resolved to resume hostilities sooner than abate their respective pretensions. During the interview a strange

* Moonshee Mohun Lal, who did "the dirty work of the British diplomatists," made his escape.—(Kaye.)

scene took place outside the cantonments. Thinking that a treaty of peace was being concluded by their leaders, the British and Afghan soldiery gave vent to their joy in mutual congratulations. The Europeans lent over the low walls (misnamed defences), conversing familiarly with their late foes, and even went out unarmed among them, and thankfully accepted presents of vegetables. The result of the meeting between the envoy and the chiefs was the renewal of strife, and the men whose hands had been so lately joined in friendly greetings, were again called on to shed each other's blood for the honour of their respective countries. The English troops showed so little inclination for the work, that Macnaghten angrily designated them a "pack of despicable cowards," and was soon compelled to reopen his negotiations with the enemy. Affairs were in this precarious condition when Akber Khan returned to Cabool, after more than two years of exile and suffering. His reappearance caused no additional anxiety to the beleagured English; on the contrary, the fact that the ladies of the family of the young Barukzye were, with his father, prisoners in Hindoostan, inspired a hope that he might be made the means of procuring favourable terms from the hostile leaders who, on their part, welcomed the return of the favourite son of the Dost with extreme delight. Akber (styled by Roebuck the "Wallace of Cabool") was, beyond doubt, a favourable specimen of an Afghan chief, strikingly handsome in face and figure, full of life and energy, joyous in peace, fearless in war, freedom-loving, deeply attached to his father and his country, susceptible of generous impulses, but uneducated and destitute of self-control. For some time he took no leading part against the English, and neither aided nor opposed the dominant party in formally setting aside the authority of Shah Soojah, and proclaiming as king in his stead the Nawab Mohammed Zemaun Khan, a cousin of the late Cabool chief. The selection was fortunate for the English, the Nawab being a humane and honourable man, well inclined to grant them acceptable terms of evacuation; and his turbulent and quarrelsome adherents were, after much discussion, induced to sign a treaty, the stipulations of which, mutual distrust prevented from being fulfilled by either party. The English consented to surrender the fortresses they still retained in Afghanistan, and their cannon, on con-

dition of receiving a supply of beasts of burden from the enemy, to facilitate their march. Shah Soojah was to be allowed to return with them or to remain in Cabool, with the miserable stipend of a lac of rupees per annum; and one moment he resolved on accompanying the retreating army, while the next he declared it his intention to remain where he was, and wait a new turn of events. In either mood, he declaimed, with reason, against the folly of his allies in divesting themselves of the means of defence, asking indignantly whether any people in the world ever before gave their enemies the means of killing them? The officers in charge of Candahar and Jellalabad (Nott and Sale) took the same view of the case; and, arguing that the order of surrender must have been forcibly extorted from General Elphinstone, positively refused to abandon their positions. The treaty was thus placed in abeyance, and the troops in cantonment lived on from day to day, frittering away their resources, and growing hourly more desponding; while Macnaghten, Elphinstone, and the second in command, Brigadier Shelton, passed the precious hours in angry discussion. The ill-health of the general, increased by a painful wound caused by a musket-ball, obliged him to delegate many duties to Shelton, an officer of great personal courage, but overbearing and prejudiced, with the especial defect of being unable to sympathise with the sufferings, or appreciate the noble devotion of the much-trying native troops. The civilian is said to have been the truest soldier in the camp; but he had no confidence in his colleagues, and his own powers of mind and body were fast sinking beneath the load of anxiety which had so suddenly banished the delusion (sedulously cherished by the unhappy Burnes to the last day of his life) of the tranquil submission of Afghanistan to a foreign yoke. Never had day-dreamer a more terrible awakening. Incensed by the refusal of the holders of inferior posts to obey his orders, and by the non-fulfilment of the promises made by the Barukzye chiefs of carriage cattle, Macnaghten, chafed almost to madness, was ready to follow any *ignis fatuus* that should present a hope of escape for himself and the 16,000 men whose lives trembled in the balance. Although ostensibly bound by treaty with the Barukzyes, he was ready to side with Doorani or Populzye, Khilji or Kuzzilbash, or, in a word, to join any native faction able to

afford cordial co-operation. In this mood he lent a willing ear to a communication made to him on the evening of 22nd Dec., 1841. The proposal was that Akber and the Khiljies should unite with the British for the seizure of the person of Ameen-oollah Khan, a leading Barukzye chief, and a party to the late agreement, whose head, for a certain sum of money, would be laid at the feet of the envoy. Happily for his own honour and that of his country, Maenaghten rejected the proposition so far as the life of the chief was concerned,* but was prepared to aid in his capture without the preliminary measure of declaring the treaty void. The envoy gave a written promise for the evacuation of Afghanistan in the coming spring; Shah Soojah was to be left behind, with Akber for his vizier; and the representative of the British government further guaranteed to reward the services of Akber by an annuity of £40,000 a-year, and a bonus of no less than £300,000.

On the following morning Maenaghten sent for the officers of his staff (Capts. Lawrence, Trevor, and Mackenzie), and, in an excited but determined tone, bade them accompany him to a conference with Akber: lastly, he informed the general of his intentions, desiring that two regiments might be got ready for service, and, to some extent, explaining the matter in hand. Elphinstone asked what part Nawab Zemaun Khan, and other leading Barukzyes, were expected to take? "None," was the reply; "they are not in the plot." The old general was scrupulously honest, and the word grated on his ear. But Maenaghten would listen to neither remonstrance nor entreaty. Impatiently turning aside from the feeble but chivalrous veteran, he exclaimed—"I understand these things better than you;" and rode off to the fatal interview,—not, however, without some misgiving as to its result; for he declared to his companions, that come what would, a thousand deaths were preferable to the life he had of late been leading. The meeting commenced in apparent courtesy; Maenaghten offered Akber a noble Arab horse, which the young chief accepted with thanks, at the same time acknowledging

ing the gift of a pair of double-barrelled pistols, sent on the previous day, which he wore at his girdle. The whole party, English and Afghans, dismounted, and seated themselves on cloths spread on some snow-clad hillocks, near the Cabool river, and about 600 yards from the cantonments. Maenaghten stretched himself at full length on the bank; Trevor and Mackenzie seated themselves beside him; but Lawrence knelt on one knee, ready for action. There was abundant cause for suspicion: the presence of a brother of Ameen-oollah, the excited and eager manner of the Afghans, and the numbers gathering round the English, drew from Lawrence and Mackenzie a remark that such intrusion was not consistent with a private conference. "They are all in the secret," said Akber; and, as he spoke, the envoy and his companions were violently seized from behind. Resistance was hopeless: their slender escort of sixteen men galloped back to cantonments to avoid being slain, save one who perished nobly in attempting to join his masters; the three *attachés* were made prisoners; but Maenaghten commenced a desperate struggle with Akber Khan, and a cry being raised that the troops were marching to the rescue, the young Barukzye, in extreme excitement, drew a pistol from his girdle, and shot the donor through the body. A party of fanatical Ghazees came up, flung themselves on the fallen envoy, and hacked him to pieces with their knives. Trevor slipped from the horse of the chief who was bearing him away captive, and shared the fate of his leader; and the other two officers were saved with difficulty by Akber Khan, who, remorseful for his late act, "drew his sword and laid about him right manfully"† for the defence of the prisoners against the infuriated crowd.

While the mangled remains of the victims were being paraded through the streets and great bazaar of the city, the military leaders remained in their usual apathetic state; nor was it until the morrow that authentic information was received of the catastrophe. Major Eldred Pottinger, on whom the office of political agent devolved, entreated the authorities assembled in

* The same right principle had not been invariably adhered to during the Afghan war, and the chiefs had good grounds for suspecting that blood-money had been offered for their lives. John Conolly (one of three brothers who followed the fortunes of their uncle, Sir W. Maenaghten, and like him, never lived to return to India), addressed from the Balla Hissar repeated injunctions to Mohun Lal,

to offer from ten to fifteen thousand rupees for the heads of certain leading chiefs; and, in the cases of Abdoollah Khan and Meer Musjedee, the rewards were actually claimed but not accorded; nor do the offers of Conolly appear to have been made with the concurrence or even cognizance of Maenaghten, much less with that of Elphinstone.—(Kaye, ii., 57—104.)

† Capt. Mackenzie's words.—(Lt. Eyre's *Journal*.)

council, either to take refuge in the Balla Hissar, or endeavour to force a way to Jellalabad, and there remain until the arrival of reinforcements from India, tidings of which arrived within two days of the massacre. But his arguments were not regarded, and new terms were concluded, by which the representatives of the Indian government engaged to abandon all their forts, surrender their guns, evacuate Afghanistan, restore the deposed Dost, and pay a ransom of £140,000 in return for the supplies necessary for the retreat. Hostages were demanded and given for the performance of these humiliating conditions; but Lawrence and Mackenzie were released. Akber Khan desired that the English ladies should be left behind, as security for the restoration of the female members of his family; but the married officers refused the advantageous offers made from head-quarters to induce them to consent, and "some (says Eyre) declared they would shoot their wives first." On the 6th of January, 1842, though deep snow already lay on the ground, the troops quitted the cantonments, in which they had sustained a two months' siege, to encounter the miseries of a winter march through a country of perhaps unparalleled difficulty, swarming with mountain tribes predatory by profession, and bitterly incensed against the foreign invaders. The records of that terrible journey are written in letters of blood. No circumstances could possibly have occurred under which regularity and discipline were more needed to ensure the safety of the retreating force; yet even the semblance of it was soon abandoned in one general attempt to keep on with the foremost rank: to lag behind was certain death from Afghan knives or Afghan snows. In the dark and terrible pass of Koord Cabool, five miles in length, through which a roaring torrent dashed on between blocks of ice, while its heights were crowned by the pitiless Khiljies, 3,000 persons perished. The Englishwomen rode through, on horseback or in camel-paniers, uninjured, except Lady Sale, who received a bullet in her arm; but, brave-hearted as they were, it

seemed scarcely possible they and their infant children could long continue to bear up against the intense cold and incessant fatigue.* The only alternative was to accept the protection of Akber Khan, who, it is said, promised to convey them to Peshawur; and to him the whole of the married Englishwomen, their husbands, and children, with Lady Macnaghten and her widowed companions, were confided. It was a tempting opportunity for barbarian revenge. The wives and babes of the proud Feringhees were at the mercy of the Afghans; yet there is no record of any insult having been offered to them, or any attempt to separate them from their natural protectors, now defenceless as themselves. On the contrary, Akber Khan earnestly craved the forgiveness of Lady Macnaghten, assuring her he would give his right arm to undo what it had done; while, in many ways, he strove to alleviate the hardships of the march by bearing the weaker of the party over fords on his own steed, binding up the wounds of the officers with his own hands, and suffering the ladies to encumber the march with the costly baggage which two or three of them still retained. The voluntary surrender of such a prize was of course not to be expected while his father, brothers, and wives were retained in exile. As it was, his "guests," as they were termed, had every reason to rejoice at finding in temporary captivity an alternative for the loss of life. On the very next day (10th January), the remnant of the doomed force was intercepted on the road to Jellalabad, in a narrow gorge between the precipitous spurs of two hills, and the promiscuous mass of sepoys and camp followers were hewn down by the infuriated Afghans. Elphinstone sent to Akber Khan, who, with a body of horse, still hovered on the flanks of the retreating force, to entreat him to stop the massacre; but he replied, that it was impossible,—at such times the Khiljies were uncontrollable even by their immediate chiefs: there was but one chance for the English—an immediate and unconditional surrender of arms. The general sadly resumed his march to the Jugdulluck Leares.) The troops in Cabool, though in many respects needlessly encumbered, do not seem to have been attended by a single chaplain; an omission which tends to justify the description given by a Beloochee of the Feringhee force, of whom one sort (the Hindoos) were idolaters; the white (English) had no religion at all; but the third were good Mussulmen, "and say their prayers as we do."—(*Idem*.)

* Some of them had just become, or were about to become mothers. The widow of Capt. Trevor had seven children with her, and an eighth was born at Buddeabad. The idea of a grand military promenade was certainly carried out, when not only ladies and children, but a pack of foxhounds, and one of Broadwood's best pianos, were brought through the Bolan Pass.—(*Fane's Five Years*; *Ex-political's Dry*

heights, and there the troops who remained—of ranks all but destroyed by death and desertion—found a brief respite, and strove to quench their burning thirst with handfuls of snow, and to still the cravings of hunger with the raw and reeking flesh of three newly-killed bullocks. The night was spent at Jugdulluck; on the following day Akber Khan requested a conference with the General, Brigadier Shelton, and Captain Johnson. It is strange, with the recollection of the Cabool plot fresh in their minds, that the three military authorities should have accepted this significant invitation; but they did so, were courteously received, refreshed with food, provided with a tent, and—made prisoners. They entreated their captor to save the survivors of the force, and he really appears to have exerted himself for that purpose, but in vain. Captain Johnson, who understood the Persian language, heard the petty chiefs of the country between Jugdulluck and Jellalabad declaiming, as they flocked in, against the hated Feringhees, and rejecting large sums as the price of a safe conduct to Jellalabad. On the evening of the 12th, the wreck of the army resumed its perilous march. The sepoy had almost wholly perished, and of the Europeans only 120 of the 44th regiment and twenty-five artillerymen remained; but their movements were still impeded by a comparatively large mass of camp followers, who “came huddling against the fighting men,” thus giving free scope to the long knives of the Afghans. The soldiers, after some time, freed themselves from the helpless rabble, turned against their foes with the bayonet, drove them off, and pursued their way to the fatal Jugdulluck Pass, where their sufferings and struggles found a melancholy termination. A barricade of boughs and bushes arrested further progress; officers, soldiers, and camp followers desperately strove to force a passage, though exposed to the deliberate aim of the “jezails” (long rifles) of the enemy. Anquetil, Thain, Nicholl, and the chief

of the remaining leaders fell here. About twenty officers and forty-five European soldiers cut their way through, hoping to gain Jellalabad; but weak and wounded, with only two rounds of ammunition left, they could not make head against the armed villagers who came crowding forth against them from every hut. The majority fell at Gundamuck; a few escaped and struggled onwards: but even they fell—one here, one there; until a single European (Dr. Brydon), wounded and worn out by famine and fatigue, mounted on a jaded pony, alone survived to announce to the gallant garrison of Jellalabad the total annihilation of the force of 16,500 men which had quitted Cabool only seven days before.*

The terrible tidings reached Lord Auckland at Calcutta while awaiting the arrival of his successor in office. He had previously seen reason to regret bitterly that ever British troops had crossed the Indus: he knew that the E. I. Co. had consistently opposed the Afghan war, and that the Peel cabinet, now in power, were of the same opinion; and he therefore refused to follow up the abortive attempts already made for the relief of the beleaguered garrisons by any efficient measures, lest his proceedings should controvert the views and embarrass the projects of his expected successor. The arrival of Lord Ellenborough, at the close of February, released Lord Auckland from his painful position, and he quitted India in the following month, leaving on record a finance minute which proved the war to have already inflicted a burden of eight million on the Indian treasury. The only remaining circumstances which occurred under his sway, were the annexation of the little principality of Kurnoul† and of Cherong, a fortified place in Bundelcund.

ELLENBOROUGH ADMINISTRATION: 1842 to 1844.—The opinions held by the new governor-general were well known. His lordship had been for years president of the Board of Control: he was a conservative, and agreed with his party and the majority

* A few straggling sepoy and camp followers afterwards found their way to Jellalabad.

† The Nawab (or nabob) of Kurnoul was suspected of entertaining hostile intentions against the English; the chief, though not very satisfactory evidence of which rests on his having accumulated a large quantity of warlike stores. He was likewise said to be a very oppressive ruler. At the close of the year 1848, the capital was seized by a British force without opposition, and the nabob, who had abandoned the place, was pursued, taken prisoner, and became a

dependent on the British government. He retired to Trichinopoly, and became a frequent attendant on the mission church. On the last occasion he was mortally stabbed by one of his Mohammedan followers. His eldest son, Uluf Khan, received a pension of £1,000 a-year until his death in 1848. The English enjoy the entire revenues of Kurnoul, estimated, in 1843, at £90,000 per annum, and control over a territory between 2,000 and 3,000 square miles in extent, with a population stated in a Parl. return for 1851, at 273,190.—(Thornton's *Gazetteer*.)

of unbiassed men, in considering the Afghan invasion "a blunder and a crime;" but he had likewise declared, that "India was won by the sword, and must be kept by the sword." These opinions, coupled with his adoption of an axiom of unquestionable truth, that "in war reputation is strength," served to convince the Indian public that his policy would probably aim at the complete and speedy evacuation of Afghanistan, performed in such a manner as to prove beyond question that England voluntarily resigned a position which an erroneous view of the feelings of the Afghans had induced her to assume; and this object, despite some glaring errors and inconsistencies, was, in the main, carried through by Lord Ellenborough. The first event in his administration was the surrender of Ghuznee, by Colonel Palmer, to Shums-oo-deen Khan, nephew to Dost Mohammed, on the 6th of March; the fear of a failure of water and provisions being the reasons alleged for the relinquishment of this strong fortress and the surrender of the officers,* who were treated with faithless cruelty by the conqueror. Nott and Sale still held their ground at Candahar and Jellalabad, against bitter cold, scarcity of fuel and provisions, and repeated though unskilful assaults, as did also the little garrison of Kelat-i-Khilji, under Captain Craigie. At Jellalabad, repeated minor shocks of earthquake were succeeded on the 10th February by a terrible convulsion, which levelled with the ground the defences which had been erected and rendered efficient at the cost of three months' intense labour of mind and body. Akber Khan, with the flower of the Barukzye horse, was at hand, ready, it was expected, to enforce the fulfilment of Elphinstone's order of surrender. But "the illustrious garrison," as Lord Ellenborough justly styled the brave band, did not abate one jot of hope or courage. The spade and pickaxe were again taken in hand, and the work of restoration went forward so rapidly that Akber, deceived as to the extent of the damage sustained, declared that English witchcraft had preserved Jellalabad from the effects of the mighty shock. The Afghans, having little inclination for a hand-

* Kaye says—"If there had been any one in Ghuznee acquainted with the use and practice of artillery, the garrison might have held out till April." He adds, "That among the officers of Nott's army [by whom the place was reoccupied in September], the loss of Ghuznee was considered even less creditable than the loss of Cabool."—(ii., 428-29.)

to-hand encounter with Sale's brigade, contented themselves with striving to maintain a rigid blockade; but the garrison sallied forth under Dennie, and swept away sheep and goats in the very front of the foe. The political agent, Capt. Macgregor, an able and energetic man, contrived to establish a system of intelligence far superior to that generally maintained by the English. Tidings arrived on the 5th of April, that General Pollock, with 12,000 men and supplies of all kinds, was fighting his way to their rescue through the Khyber Pass, opposed by Akber Khan. The garrison gallantly resolved to assist their countrymen by issuing forth to attack the Afghan camp. This unlooked-for enterprise was attended with complete success. The blockading troops were completely routed, and fled in the direction of Lughman. The victors lost only thirteen men; but that number included the gallant Colonel Dennie, who fell at the head of the centre column. On the 11th April, the army under General Pollock reached Jellalabad, and the garrison, whose five months' beleaguement had been already so brilliantly terminated, sent the band of the 13th light infantry to meet the troops, and marched them in to the fort to the tune of an old Jacobite song of welcome, of which the refrain runs, "Oh! but ye've been lang o' coming." General England was not successful in his early attempts to succour Nott and his "noble sepoy"† at Candahar. Having been repulsed in an attack on the Kojuck Pass, he fell back upon Quetta, and commenced fortifying that town; but General Nott imperatively demanded his renewed advance, and sent the best part of his force to aid England through the pass, who thus assisted, marched to Candahar, which place he reached with little loss; for the Afghans, though strongly posted at Hykulzie (the scene of his former discomfiture), were rapidly dispersed by a vigorous attack, and did not muster in any force to oppose his further progress.

No impediment now remained to the junction of the forces under Nott and England with those of Pollock and Sale. The only consideration was, what to do with them. Lord Ellenborough had wisely re-

† "My sepoy," Nott writes to Pollock in April, "have behaved nobly, and have licked the Afghans in every affair, even when five times their number." In the same letter he states that they had had no pay since the previous December. The fidelity and privations of the native troops throughout the Afghan war well deserve a special narration.

solved on the evacuation of Afghanistan; but he left to the military authorities the choice of "retiring" by the line of Quetta and Sukkur, or by that of Ghuznee, Cabool, and Jellalabad. Nott chose the latter alternative; and in communicating his resolve, repeated with quiet sarcasm his lordship's phrase of "retiring" from Candahar to India by way of Ghuznee, Cabool, and Jellalabad; the said retirement, says Kaye, being like a man retiring from Reigate to London *via* Dover and Canterbury. Pollock entirely sympathised with General Nott. The former marched to Cabool, which he reached on the 5th Sept., after having encountered and put to flight the Afghans under Akber,* in the valley of Tezeen and the adjacent passes of Koord Cabool, where the English had been slaughtered in the previous January. General Nott proceeded to Ghuznee, which was evacuated on his approach; and after destroying the town as well as citadel by fire, he proceeded to the tomb of Mahmood, in obedience to the special instructions of the governor-general, to bear away the famous idol-destroying mace of the conqueror, suspended above the tomb, and a pair of sandal-wood gates, embossed with brass, which were said to have been carried away by him from the temple of Somnauth, in Guzerat, A.D. 1024. Burdened with these trophies, the general proceeded to Cabool, which city Pollock had entered unopposed on the 15th Sept., and planted the union-jack on the Balla Hissar.†

In the interval between the evacuation and reoccupation of the capital of Afghanistan by the English, another melancholy tragedy had been enacted. Shah Soojah, abandoned by his allies, for some months contrived to maintain himself in the Balla Hissar; but his position becoming at length insupportable, he resolved to attempt to join Sale at Jellalabad. Early on the morning of the 5th of April, the Shah left the citadel, escorted by a small party of Hindoostanees, intending to review the troops

and quit Cabool; but his passage was opposed by a body of Afghans, who opened a volley upon the royal *cortège*, which struck down the bearers of the state chair, and killed the king himself. Throughout his whole career, Shah Soojah had been a pompous man, speaking and thinking ever of "our blessed self." Now his lifeless body was stripped of its costly array, of its sparkling head-dress, rich girdle, and jewelled dagger, and flung into a ditch. His eldest son, Prince Timur, then about twenty-three years of age, was with the British at Candahar. The next in succession, Futteh Jung, was courted by the Barukzye chiefs, who hoped to find in him a shield from the vengeance of the advancing foe. The prince listened with undisguised distrust to the protestations made to him by the Seyed deputies; and in reply to offers of allegiance, to be sworn on the Koran, caused several exemplars of the sacred volume to be placed before them, bearing the seals of the Barukzye, Dourani, Kuzzilbash, and Kohistanee chiefs, with oaths of allegiance to his murdered father inscribed on the margin. "If there be any other Koran sent from heaven," he said bitterly, "let the Barukzyes swear upon it: this has been tried too often, and found wanting." The ambassadors were dismissed; but Futteh Jung, unable to maintain his ground, soon fell into the hands of the chiefs he so avowedly mistrusted, and after being robbed of the treasure which his father had contrived to accumulate, made his escape, and joined General Pollock at Gundamuck on the 1st of September, with only two or three followers.

The next feature in the campaign was a joyful one—the recovery of the captives. The ladies and children were alive and well, but General Elphinstone had expired in the month of April, worn out by incessant bodily and mental pain. On learning the approach of Pollock, Akber‡ confided his unwilling guests to the care of one them under his immediate protection. About this time an accident occurred which placed them in jeopardy. A servant in attendance on the chief, wounded him in the arm by the accidental discharge of a musket. No difference took place in the conduct of Akber himself; and even when weak and wounded, he gave up his litter for the accommodation of the ladies on their removal from Budeeabad. His countrymen, more suspicious, attributed the disaster to English treachery; and had the young Barukzye died, the lives of all the male captives and hostages would probably have been sacrificed as an act of retribution. Ameen-oollah Khan, especially,

* The Goorkalese infantry fought most manfully, clambering undauntedly the steepest ascents, beneath the iron rain poured on them from Afghan jezails. —(Kaye, ii., 579.) It must have been a strange sight to see these daring, sturdy, but diminutive men, driving before them their stalwart foes; but stranger still the thought, how recently these valuable auxiliaries had done battle on their native hills, against the people for whom they were now shedding their life-blood, and ably wielding the British bayonet.

† *Balla Hissar*, the Persian for High Fort.

‡ The trials of the captives began when Akber became again a fugitive, and could no longer retain

Saleh Mohammed, who was directed to deliver them to the charge of a neighbouring Usbeck chief, styled the Wali of Kooloom, who had proved a staunch friend to Dost Mohammed. Saleh Mohammed had formerly been a subahdar in the service of the E. I. Cy., but being (by his own account) disgusted with the abusive language used towards natives by the European officers, he deserted with his company to the Dost. It was not a difficult matter to induce him to play the traitor over again, provided the risk were small and the temptation great. Tidings of the progress of the English army calmed his fears; and offers on behalf of government, backed by the written pledge of the captives to pay him 1,000 rupees a-month for life, and a present of 20,000 rupees, stimulated his hopes: from gaoler he turned confederate; and the soldiers (250 in number) were, by the promise of four months' pay as a gratuity, metamorphosed from guards to servants. Eldred Pottinger assumed the direction of affairs, levied contributions upon some merchants passing through Bamian, and hoisted an independent flag on the fort the party said that he knew a reward of a lac of rupees had been offered by Macnaghten for his life. Mohammed Shah Khan, and a "young whelp," his son, took advantage of the absence of Akber to pillage the captives, and is said to have obtained from Lady Macnaghten alone, shawls and jewels to the value of £20,000; but the jewels were soon voluntarily restored (Johnson and Eyre.) Considering that the daughter and sister of the plunderers (Akber's wife) had been carried into exile by the countrymen of Lady Macnaghten, there was nothing very extraordinary in their thus seeking means to carry on the war. Before the late crisis, the captives had enjoyed advantages very unusual for even state prisoners in Afghanistan. Five rooms in the fort of Budeeabad, furnished by Mohammed Shah Khan for his own use, were vacated for their accommodation. During the three months spent here four European infants were born. The elder children passed the time in blindman's-buff and other games befitting their age; their parents in writing long letters to India and England, carrying on a great deal of cypher correspondence with Sale's garrison, and playing backgammon and drafts on boards of their own construction, and cards, by means of two or three old packs preserved among their baggage. From "a Bible and Prayer-book picked up on the field at Boothauk," the services of the established church were read every Sunday, sometimes in the open air; and this observance was, we are told, not lost on their guards, who, wild and savage as they were, seemed to respect the Christian's day of rest, "by evincing more decorum and courtesy than on the working-days of the week."—(Kaye ii., 489.) Who that really desires the spread of vital Christianity, can read this account without regretting that the captives of Budeeabad had not been inspired with more of the devotional spirit which burned so

had entered as prisoners. To remain at Bamian was, however, deemed even more perilous than to attempt to join the army at Cabool; and on the 16th of September, the officers, ladies, and children set forth on their march. The next day Sir Richmond Shakespear, at the head of 600 Kuzzilbash horse, met the fugitives, who thus escorted, joyfully pursued their route, till, on the 20th, near Urghunde, the column sent by Pollock to support Shakespear appeared in sight, and its veteran commander, Sir Robert Sale, came galloping on to embrace his wife and widowed daughter.*

The objects of the campaign were fully accomplished: the beleaguered garrisons had been relieved, the captives rescued; the last of them (Captain Bygrave) being voluntarily released by Akber; and the orders of the governor-general were stringent for the return of the entire English force to Hindoostan without incurring any unnecessary peril. The various Afghan chiefs, whose blood-feuds and factious dissension had prevented any combined action, now earnestly deprecated the vengeance of the Feringhees. The hostages left at Cabool were restored, strong and clear in the bosoms of two other English captives, then dying by inches in filth and misery at Bokhara, but evincing such unmistakable indications of true piety, that sorrow for the suffering is lost in veneration for the enduring faith of Colonel Stoddart and Arthur Conolly. The former I deeply respected on the ground of personal knowledge; the latter I know only by the touching records made public since his execution. The history of both is yet fresh in the minds of the existing generation. Colonel Stoddart had gone in an official position to Bokhara, and was detained by the Ameer, who had been angered by some real or apparent slight shown him by the British authorities; Conolly sought to procure the release of Stoddart, but was condemned to share his imprisonment. The touching letters written at this period, and forwarded to India through the intervention of a faithful servant, still remain to attest the patience in adversity of these illustrious sufferers. Stoddart, in a moment of weakness, after being lowered down into a deep dark well, tenanted by vermin, was forced into making a profession of belief in the false prophet; but Conolly never wavered. On the 17th of June, 1842, the two friends were brought forth to die, clothed in the miserable rags which five months' incessant wear had left to cover their emaciated and literally worm-eaten frames. The elder captive was first beheaded, and an offer of life was made to his companion as the price of apostasy, but without effect. "Stoddart," he said, "became a Mussulman, and you killed him: I am prepared to die." The knife of the executioner did its work, and another name was added to the glorious army of martyrs—the true soldiers of the Cross.—(Kaye, Wolfe, &c.)

* The widow of Lieutenant Sturt, of the engineers, a very active officer, who was mortally wounded by the Khiljies in the Koord Cabool Pass.

and bore testimony to the good treatment they had received from the nabob, Zemaun Shah. The "guests" of Akber Khan told the same tale; and Colonel Palmer and Mohun Lal* were almost the only complainants;—the one having fallen into the hands of the instigator of the murder of Shah Soojah, the unworthy son of Nawab Zemaun Khan; the other having provoked personal vengeance by repeated offers of blood-money for the heads of the leading Barukzyes. The principal Cabool leaders proposed that a younger son of the late king's, named Shahpoor (the son of a Populzye lady of high rank), should be placed on the throne; and to this the British authorities consented. The object of the proposers was not accomplished; they hoped to turn away the vengeance of the invaders, but in vain. The military leaders pronounced that the destruction of the fortresses of Ghuznee, Jellalabad, Candahar, Khelat-i-Khilji,† Ali-Musjid, and many others of inferior note,—the sacrifice of thousands of villagers armed and unarmed, the wanton destruction of the beautiful fruit-trees (which an Afghan loves as a Kaffir does cattle, or an Arab his steed), with other atrocities almost inseparable from the march of an "army of retribution," were all too trifling to convey a fitting impression of the wrath of the British nation at the defeat, disgrace, and ruin which had attended its abortive attempt at the military occupation of Afghanistan. It is idle to talk of the savage ferocity‡ of the Khiljies, as displayed in the horrible January massacre, since that very massacre had been wantonly provoked. The English originally entered those fatal passes as foes; they marched on,

in the pride of conquerors, to rivet a rejected yoke on the neck of a free, though most turbulent nation: their discipline and union were at first irresistible; yet subsequently, strife and incapacity delivered them over into the hands of their self-made enemies. They had (to use an Orientalism) gone out to hunt deer, and roused tigers. What wonder that the incensed people, heated with recent wrongs, should crush with mereiless grasp the foe in his hour of weakness, under whose iron heel they had been trampled on so recently. It was a base and cruel thing to slay the retreating legions; but have civilised nations—France and England, for instance—never done worse things in Africa or the Indies, and vindicated them on the plea of state necessity? The defeated invaders fell with weapons in their hands: they fought to the last—at a heavy disadvantage, it is true; but still they did fight; and the physical obstacles which facilitated their overthrow, surely could not make the difference between the combatants greater than that which has enabled nations acquainted with the use of cannon to reduce to slavery or deprive of their land less-informed people.

The English refused to surrender, and paid by death the penalty of defeat, which would, in all probability, have been inflicted by them in a similar case. The captives and hostages were, generally, remarkably well used; even the little children who fell into the power of the Khiljies were voluntarily restored to their parents.§

Yet now the military authorities, not content with the misery wrought and suffered in Afghanistan,|| gravely deliberated on the most

* Moonshee Mohun Lal was educated at the Delhi college, where the experiment of imparting secular education, without any religious leaven, was being tried by the British government. The same system is now in force throughout India. Mohun Lal was one of its first-fruits, and his cleverly-written work on Cabool is well worthy of the attention of all interested in tracing the effects of purely secular instruction. Shahamet Ali (author of the *Sikhs and Afghans*), the fellow-student of Mohun Lal, was a different character, and not a Hindoo, but a Mohammedan. His new acquirements were not, therefore, likely to have the effect of producing the same flippancy and scepticism which was almost sure to be occasioned by proving to such men as Mohun Lal, that modern Brahminism was the offspring of superstition and ignorance, without inculcating a knowledge of those doctrines which Christians hold to be the unerring rule of life, the only wisdom.

† Kaye, ii., 599. Khelat-i-Khilji, or "the Khilji Fort," situated between Candahar and Ghuznee, must not be confounded with the famous Khelat-i-Nuseer near the Bolan Pass, taken by Major-gen-

eral Willshire in November, 1839, and in the defence of which the Beloochee chief, Mehrab Khan, with hundreds of his vassals, perished. Several women were slain to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy: others fled on foot with their infants.

‡ The author of one of the numerous *Narratives* of the war, relates an anecdote of an Afghan boy of six years old, being found by an English soldier striving to decapitate the corpse of a colour-sergeant who had fallen some time before when Pollock fought his way through the Khyber Pass. The soldier came behind the child, "coolly took him up on his bayonet, and threw him over the cliff." Lieut. Greenwood narrates this incident in "the war of retribution" as evidence of *Afghan* ferocity.—(176.)

§ The daughter of Captain Anderson, and the son of Captain Boyd, fell into the hands of the Afghans in the Boothauk Pass.

|| Lord Brougham sternly denounced the destruction of the "hundred gardens" of Cabool, by "our incendiary generals."

efficient mode of perpetuating in the minds of the Cabool chiefs the memory of deeds which all parties might have been glad to bury in oblivion. The peaceable inhabitants of the city had been induced to return and resume their occupations; and when they beheld the son of Shah Soojah on the throne, and the English in daily intercourse with the leading chiefs, and making avowed preparations for final departure, they might well think that the worst was over. But it was yet to come. General Pollock considered the death of the envoy still unavenged, and resolved on the total destruction of the Great Bazaar and the Mosque. These orders were executed, but with difficulty, owing to the massiveness of these magnificent buildings, which it was found impossible to destroy in any reasonable time without the use of gunpowder. As might have been expected, the victorious soldiery and licentious camp followers did not content themselves with fulfilling their destructive commission, but rushed into the streets of the city, applied the firebrand to the houses, and pillaged the shops; so that above four or five thousand people (including many Hindoos who had been enticed into the town by express promises of protection) were reduced to utter ruin. The excesses committed during the last three days of British supremacy in Cabool, were far more disgraceful to the character of England, as a Christian nation, than the expulsion and extermination of the ill-fated troops to her military reputation.

Popular feeling, both in India and in England, was strongly expressed against the needless injury done to the Afghans by the razing of the Great Bazaar, and especially against the extensive destruction of trees, by order of the commander-in-chief, by deeply ringing the bark, and leaving them to perish. Lord Ellenborough appears to have regretted these outrages; but this and all other drawbacks were for the time forgotten in the grand display with which he prepared to welcome the returning army. The homeward march commenced on the 12th of October, and proved singularly peaceful and uneventful. The old blind king, Zemaun Shah, with his nephew Futteh Jung, and the chief part of the family of the late Shah Soojah, accom-

panied the troops. The gates of Somnauth were not forgotten; and the governor-general gave vent to his delight at their attainment in a proclamation, in which he declared the insult of 800 years to be at length avenged, and desired his "brothers and friends," the princes and chiefs of Sirhind, Rajwarra, Malwa, and Guzerat, to convey the "glorious trophy of successful war" with all honour through their respective territories, to the restored idolatrous temple of Somnauth.

For this strange "song of triumph," as the Duke of Wellington styled the effusion, Lord Ellenborough may perhaps be excused, in remembrance of the honest and manly recantation of error which he published on behalf of the Indian government on the 1st of October, 1842, when directing the complete evacuation of Afghanistan,—this announcement being made from Simla precisely four years after the famous warlike manifesto of Lord Auckland. The whole of the Afghan captives were released. Dost Mohammed returned to Cabool to take possession of the throne vacated by the flight of Shahpoor immediately after the departure of the British force; Akber joyfully welcomed home his father and family; the Persians again besieged Herat; and all things returned to much the same position they occupied before thousands of lives (including that of the forsaken Shah) and about fifteen million of money had been wasted, in an abortive attempt at unauthorised interference. The only change effected was, that instead of respect and admiration, the Afghans (generally, though perhaps not justly, considered an unforgiving race) learned to entertain towards their powerful neighbours emotions of fear and aversion, excited by the galling memories inseparably connected with the march of a desolating army, whose traces were left everywhere, "from Candahar to Cabool, from Cabool to Peshawur."*

The annexation of Sind—the next event in Anglo-Indian history—has been termed by its chief promoter "the tail of the Afghan storm." Such is the light in which Sir Charles Napier avowedly desires to place it; and his brother, General William Napier, in his account of the *Conquest of Sind*, plainly declares the open encroachment on the in-

* Kaye, ii., 669. Among other authorities examined, in writing the above sketch of the Afghan war, may be named Eyre's *Cabool*, Havelock's *Narrative*, Dennie's *Campaigns*, Outram's *Rough Notes*,

Hough's *British at Cabool*, Fane's *Five Years in India*, Osborne's *Court of Runjeet Sing*, Taylor's *Scenes*, Nash's *Afghanistan*, Barr's *Cabool*, Burnes' *Cabool*, Allen's *Diary*, Thornton's *India*.

dependence of the Ameers, made by order of Lord Auckland, to have been a measure of which "it is impossible to mistake or to deny the injustice." Major (now Col.) Outram, the political Resident at Hyderabad, to some extent defends the proceedings which, though occasionally under protest, he was instrumental in carrying through; and brings forward a considerable body of evidence to prove that Sir Charles Napier, when vested with complete military and diplomatic authority in Sindé, while denouncing the unauthorised aggression committed by Lord Auckland, used the despotic power vested in him by Lord Ellenborough to sap the resources of the Ameers, and then drive them to desperation; the results being their ruin, the annexation to British India of a fertile and valuable boundary province, and the gain to the invading army of prize-money to an enormous extent—the share of Sir C. Napier (an eighth) amounting, it is asserted, to £70,000. Taken together, the admissions and accusations respectively made and preferred by the two leading authorities, can scarcely fail to leave on the mind of the unprejudiced reader a conviction that the Ameers were very illused men, especially the eldest and most influential of them, the venerable Meer Roostum. They were usurpers; but their usurpation was of above sixty years' standing; and the declaration of Lord Ellenborough is not equally correct, that what they had won by the sword they had lost by the sword; inasmuch as their earliest and most important concessions were obtained amid "a sickening declamation about friendship, justice, and love of peace;" which declamation was continued up to the moment when Meer Roostum, bending under the weight of eighty-five years, and his aged wife (the mother of his eldest son) were driven forth into the desert, not by English bayonets, but by English diplomacy.

Such at least is the account given by Napier of the opening negotiations with Sindé, and by Outram of their abrupt termination. To enter into the various points of dispute would be manifestly incompatible with the brief sketch of the leading features attending our occupation of the country, alone consistent with the objects and limits of the present work: even that sketch, to economise space, must be given in small type.

In the beginning of the 18th century, the Kalloras, military fanatics from Persia, became dominant in Sindé, and though compelled to pay tribute

to the Dourani conqueror of Afghanistan, retained their position as rulers until about 1771, when a conflict arose between them and the chiefs of the Beloochee tribe of Talpoors, who had come from the hills to settle in the fertile plains. After some years' fighting the Talpoors became undisputed masters of Sindé. Their head, Meer Futteh Ali, assigned portions of the conquered territory to two of his relations, and thus gave rise to the separate states of Khayrpoor and Meerpoor. The remaining part of Sindé, including the capital Hyderabad, he ruled until his death, in amicable conjunction with his three brothers. The Talpoors, like their predecessors the Kalloras, evidently dreaded the encroaching spirit of the powerful Feringhees, and quietly but firmly opposed their early attempts at commercial intercourse. At length, in 1832, the pertinacious resolve of the English to open up the navigation of the Indus, prevailed over their prudent reserve, and a new treaty was formed through the intervention of Colonel (now Sir Henry) Pottinger, by the fifth article of which the contracting parties solemnly pledged themselves "never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other." The very words betrayed the apprehensions of the Ameers; and that these were shared by their subjects is proved by the exclamation recorded by Burnes, as uttered in the previous year by the witnesses of his approach—"Alas! Sindé is gone since the English have seen our river!"

The prediction was soon verified. In 1836, the ambitious designs of Runjeet Sing gave the Anglo-Indian government an opportunity of interference, which was availed of by the proffer of British mediation. At this time the original Talpoor rulers were all dead, and their sons reigned in their stead. Noor Mohammed wore the puggree or turban of superiority, and was the acknowledged rais or chief at Hyderabad; Sheer Mohammed at Meerpoor, and Meer Roostum at Khayrpoor, in Upper Sindé. Meer Roostum was eighty years of age, and was assisted in the government by his numerous brothers. He was, however, still possessed of much energy; and so far from fearing the hostility of Runjeet Sing, or desiring the dangerous aid of the English, he exclaimed confidently—"We have vanquished the Seik, and we will do so again." It was, however, quite another thing to compete with the united forces of Runjeet Sing and the English; and the intimate connexion so unnecessarily formed between these powers in 1838, proved pretty clearly that the choice lay between mediation or open hostility. The Ameers chose the former, and consented to the permanent residence at Hyderabad of a British political agent, with an armed escort. Two months after the conclusion of this arrangement, the Tripartite Treaty was signed at Lahore, and involved a new question as to the route to be taken for the invasion of Afghanistan. Runjeet Sing, stimulated by his distrustful durbar or court, would not suffer his sworn allies to march through the Punjab. Advantage was therefore taken of the weakness of the Ameers to compel them to sanction the passage of the British troops; and the island-fortress of Bukkur was obtained from Meer Roostum, to be held "during the continuance of the war." These concessions paved the way for fresh exactions, and the Ameers were next required to contribute towards the expenses of the expedition. The demand was first urged on the plea of arrears of tribute claimed by Shah Soojah as their suzerain, but this was refuted by

the production of a formal release made by the Shah of all claims upon Sindé or Shikarpoor. The next pretext for oppression was, that the Ameers had tendered professions of submission to Persia, the evidence being a document of doubtful authenticity, ostensibly addressed by Noor Mohammed to the Persian monarch, and which, when freed from Oriental hyperbole, contained little more than expressions of unbounded respect for the Shah of Persia as the head of the Sheiah sect of Mohammedans. It was so improbable that the Ameers would comply with the present demands, except under the sternest compulsion, that preparations were made to punish their refusal by the storming of Hyderabad, and the army of the Indus turned out of its way for the express purpose, and menaced Sindé at four different points. Sir John Keane designated the anticipated siege of the capital, "a pretty piece of practice for the army;" and the officers generally indulged in sanguine expectations of pillage and prize-money. The Ameers were divided in opinion; and one of them proposed that they should defend themselves to the last, and then slay their wives and children, and perish sword in hand—the terrible resolve carried out not many months later by Mehrab Khan, of Khelat-i-Nuseer. More temperate counsels prevailed. Meer Roostum confessed that in surrendering Bukkur he had given the heart of his country into the hands of the foe; and the Ameers, with utter ruin staring them in the face, consented to the hard terms imposed by the treaty signed in February, 1839, which bound them to receive a subsidiary force, and contribute three lacs (afterwards increased to three and a-half) for its support, to abolish all tolls on the Indus, and provide store-room at Kurrachee for military supplies. In return, the Anglo-Indian government promised not to meddle with the internal affairs of the Ameers, or listen to the complaints of their subjects (a very ominous proviso.) These concessions, together with a contribution of £200,000, half of which was paid immediately, did not satisfy Lord Auckland. Kurrachee had been taken possession of during the war; and he now insisted on its permanent retention, despite the promises made by his representatives.

The Ameers had no alternative but to submit: yet, says General Napier, "the grace with which they resigned themselves to their wrongs, did not save them from the cruel mockery of being asked by Colonel (Sir H.) Pottinger, 'if they had the slightest cause to question the British faith during the last six months?' and the further mortification of being told, 'that henceforth they must consider Sindé to be as it was in reality a portion of Hindoostan, in which the British were paramount, and entitled to act as they considered best and fittest for the general good of the whole empire.'"

Colonel Pottinger, created a baronet, continued Resident in Sindé until the beginning of 1840. He was succeeded by Major Outram, who, by the death of his coadjutor, Mr. Ross Bell, became political agent for the whole of Sindé and Beloochistan. Major Outram found the Ameers in precisely the state of feeling which might have been expected;—deeply irritated against the English, disposed to rejoice at any misfortune which might overtake them, and ready to rise up and assert their independence if the opportunity offered; but constantly let and hindered by the fear of consequences, and by the divided counsels arising from separate interests. With anxious care the Resident watched their feel-

ings and opinions—warning one, counselling another, reasoning with a third; and in the perilous moment when General England fell back on Quetta, after a vain attempt to succour Nott at Candahar, Outram strained every nerve to prevent the rulers of Sindé from making common cause with their Beloochee countrymen against the invading army. "Even their negative hostility," he writes, "evinced by withholding supplies, would have placed us in a position which it is fearful even to contemplate." The recollection of past wrongs did not, however, prevent the majority of the Ameers from actively befriending the troops in their hour of need; but some of them were suspected of being concerned in hostile intrigues; and though Meer Roostum behaved with accustomed candour, his minister, Futteh Mohammed Ghoree became implicated in certain suspicious proceedings. Towards the conclusion of the Afghan war, Major Outram proposed to Lord Ellenborough (the successor of Lord Auckland) a revision of the existing treaties, which were very vaguely worded, urging that precautions should be taken against the possible machinations of such of the Ameers as had betrayed hostile intentions during the late crisis, and advised that Shikarpoor and its dependencies, with Sukkur and the adjacent fortress of Bukkur, should be demanded in complete cession, in return for the relinquishment of the yearly tribute of £350,000, and of arrears due of considerable amount.

Lord Ellenborough was not content with this arrangement: he desired to reward the good service done to the forces in the late war by a neighbouring prince, the Khan of Bhawalpoor,* by the restoration of certain territories captured from him some thirty years before by the Ameers, who were considered to have rendered themselves "most amenable to punishment." To this Major Outram assented; but when his lordship proceeded to write denunciatory letters to the Ameers, threatening them with punishment for past offences, should any such be clearly proved, the Resident withheld these communications, believing that their delivery would gravely imperil the safety of the troops still scattered in isolated positions in dreary Afghanistan. The governor-general admitted the discretion of this procedure; but he had taken up, with the energy of a strong though often prejudiced mind, the popular notion of the day against political agents; and the prudence displayed by Colonel Outram did not exempt him from the sweeping measures enacted for the suppression of political by purely military functionaries.

Sir Charles Napier had just arrived in India, and to him was entrusted the task of gaining the consent of the Ameers to concessions amounting to their virtual deposition.† The sudden recall of the Resident, and the arrival of a military leader, at the head of a powerful force, alarmed the Ameers, and they strove to deprecate the impending storm by every means in their power. The testimonies of many British officers and surgeons are brought forward by Major Outram, to confirm his own evidence with regard to the characters of the unfortunate chiefs of Sindé, whom he describes as decidedly favourable specimens of Mohammedan princes, ruling after a very patriarchal fashion,—merciful, accessible to complainants, singularly temperate, abstaining not only from drinking and smoking, but likewise rigidly eschewing the accursed drug, opium, even as a medicine.‡ The

* Vide Shahamet Ali's *History of Bahawalpoor*.

† Thornton's *India*, vi., 423.

‡ Outram's *Commentary*, 529. Dr. Burnes' *Sinde*.

mere fact of so many chiefs living and bearing sway in the domestic fashion described by Pottinger, Burnes, and Outram, was a strong argument in their favour; yet Sir Charles Napier unhappily lent a credulous ear to the mischievous rumours which a longer residence in India would have taught him to sift narrowly, or reject wholly: and his entire conduct was in accordance with his undisguised opinion, that the Ameers were "thorough ruffians" and "villains," drunken, debauched, capable of fratricide, "any one of them," and determined to assassinate him and "Cabool" the troops. Accustomed to the courtesy of British officials (one of whom had stood unshod in their presence, some ten years before, to crave permission to open the navigation of the Indus), they were now startled by the tone of contemptuous distrust with which they were treated by the dark-visaged little old man, who, despite his unquestioned courage in the field of battle, avowedly suffered personal fear of treachery to prevent his according a friendly hearing to the "benign and grey-headed monarch who had conferred the most substantial benefits on the English nation."

Major Outram states that Sir Charles Napier scrupled not to add exactions to the treaties not desired by Lord Ellenborough: and further, that he incited the most ambitious and able of the Khyrpoor brothers (Ali Morad), to intrigue against their venerated rais or chief, Meer Roostum, who, perceiving the offensive and threatening attitude assumed by the British forces, asked the advice of the general what to do to preserve peace, and offered to take up his residence in the camp. Sir Charles Napier advised, or rather commanded him to join his brother. The aged rais complied, and the result was his being first, as Sir Charles said, "bullied" into resigning the puggree to Ali Morad, and then induced, by artfully-implanted fears of English treachery, to seek refuge with his family in the wilderness. This step was treated as an act of hostility, and immediate preparations were made for what was vauntingly termed "the conquest," but which was expected to be little more than the occupation of Sind. The customary form of a declaration of war was passed over; and it being suspected that the fugitives had taken refuge in Emaunghur, Sir Charles marched, with 400 men mounted on camels, against that fortress in January, 1843. Emaunghur belonged to a younger brother of Roostum—Mohammed of Khyrpoor, one of the reigning Ameers, who had never "been even accused of a single hostile or unfriendly act,"* but who had the unfortunate reputation of possessing treasure to the amount of from £200,000 to £360,000, stored up in Emaunghur.† No such prize awaited the general; he found the fort without a living inhabitant, but well supplied with grain, of which the troops took possession, razed the walls, and marched back again.

At this crisis, Major Outram returned to Sind, at the especial request of both Lord Ellenborough and Sir Charles Napier, to aid as commissioner in settling the pending arrangements. Having vainly entreated the general not to persist in driving the whole of the Ameers of Upper Sind to open war, by compelling them to take part with Meer Roostum and his fugitive adherents, Major Outram centred his last efforts for peace in striving to persuade the Ameers

not yet compromised by any manifestation of distrust, to throw themselves at the feet of the English, by signing the required treaty. The task is best described in the words of the negotiator:—"I was called upon to obtain their assent to demands against which I had solemnly protested as a positive robbery: and I had to warn them against resistance to our requisitions, as a measure that would bring down upon them utter and merited destruction; while I firmly believed that every life lost, in consequence of our aggressions, would be chargeable on us as a murder."‡

The arguments of Major Outram succeeded in procuring the signature of the chiefs of Lower Sind; but the prohibition he had received against any promise of protection for Meer Roostum, however clearly his innocence might be proved, excited uncontrollable indignation on the part of the Beloochee feudatory chiefs; and but for the efforts of the Ameers, the commissioner and his party would have been massacred on their return to the Residency. Major Outram was warned to quit Hyderabad. The vakeels or ambassadors dispatched to the British camp to offer entire submission, failed to procure even a hearing; and they sent word to their masters—"The general is bent on war—so get ready." In fact, Napier had been so long preparing to meet a conspiracy on the part of the Ameers, that he seems to have been determined either to make or find one, if only to illustrate his favourite denunciation of—"Woe attend those who conspire against the powerful arms of the company: behold the fate of Tippon Sultan and the peishwa, and the Emperor of China!" Therefore he continued his march; and the terrified Ameers, on learning their last and deepest humiliations had been endured in vain, gave the rein to the long-restrained fury of their followers,—just fifty-three days after the commencement of hostilities by General Napier. On the 15th of February, a horde of armed Beloochees attacked the residence of the British commissioner. After a few hours' resistance, Major Outram and his escort evacuated the place, and retreated in marching order to meet the advancing army, which continued its progress to a village called Meanee (six miles from Hyderabad), which he reached on the 17th. Here the Ameers had taken up their position, with a force stated by Sir C. Napier at 25,862 Beloochees, hastily assembled and ill-disciplined; but than whom, he says, "braver barbarians never gave themselves to slaughter." And very terrible the slaughter was; for, if General W. Napier may be trusted, the Ameers "were broken like potsherd," and 6,000 men "went down before the bayonets of his (brother's) gallant soldiers, wallowing in blood." The English lost 264 killed and wounded.

Immediately after the battle, Meer Roostum and two others of the Khyrpoor family, with three of the Ameers of Hyderabad, influenced by the representations of Major Outram, abandoned all intention of defending Hyderabad, and delivered themselves up as prisoners; and on 20th of Feb., Napier entered the capital as a conqueror. Although there had been no declaration of war, and no sign of defence,—not a shot fired from the walls,—the prize-agents immediately set about the plunder of the city, in a manner happily unparalleled in the records of Anglo-Indian campaigns. The ladies of the imprisoned Ameers were exposed to the insulting search of one of the most abandoned of their own sex, the concubine of an officer on duty in Sind. Everything belonging to them, even to the coats on which they slept, were seized and sold by public auction;§ and several of

* Outram's *Commentary*, 39. † First Sind B. B., 469.

‡ Outram deemed himself "bound to vindicate his (Napier's) conduct in my communications with his victims."—(*Commentary*, 325.) § *Ibid.*, 439.

these unfortunates, driven to desperation, fled from the city harefoot, overwhelmed with shame and terror.

On the 24th of March, the army marched from Hyderabad against Sheer Mohammed, Amcer of Meerpoor, with whom a pitched battle took place near that city, in which the British were victorious, but lost 267 men in killed and wounded. Meerpoor was occupied without resistance, and the desert fortress of Amercot (the birthplace of Akber, conquered by the Ameers from the Rajpoots) surrendered at the first summons. The brothers Shah Mohammed and Sheer Mohammed were defeated in the month of June, by detachments respectively commanded by captains Roberts and Jacob; and the success of these officers in preventing the junction of the brothers, and defeating them, materially conduced to the triumphant conclusion of the campaign; for had their forces been able to unite and retire to the desert, and there wait their opportunity, heat, pestilence, and inundation (in a land intersected by canals), would have been fearful auxiliaries to the warfare of predatory bands, against an army already reduced to 2,000 effective men, who could only move in the night, and were falling so fast beneath climatorial influences, that before the intelligence of Captain Jacob's victory, orders had been issued for the return of all the Europeans to head-quarters.

The Ameers were sent as prisoners to Hindoostan, and stipends were eventually granted for their support, amounting in the aggregate to £46,614. Ali Morad was rewarded for his share in sending his aged brother to die in exile, by an addition of territory, which was soon afterwards taken away from him, on a charge of forgery urged against him, and it was thought clearly proved, by a vengeful minister. The rest of the province was annexed to British India, and divided into three collectorates—Shikarpoor, Hyderabad and Kurrachee. There is some consolation in being able to close this painful episode, by stating that the latest accounts represent the country as improving in salubrity, the inhabitants (considerably above a million in number) as tranquil and industrious, canals as being reopened, waste land redeemed, new villages springing up, and even the very mild form of slavery which prevailed under the Ameers, as wholly abolished. This is well; for since we are incontestably usurpers in Sindé, it is the more needful we be not oppressors also.*

The sword had scarcely been sheathed in Sindé before it was again drawn in warfare against the Mahratta principality formed by Mahadajee Sindia. The successor of Dowlut Rao, and the adopted son of Baiza Bye, died childless in 1843. His nearest relative, a boy of eight years of age, was proclaimed Maharajah, with the sanction of the British government; and the regency was nominally entrusted to the widow of the late prince, a wayward and passionate, but clever and sensitive girl of twelve years of age. Great disorders arose in the state; and the turbulence of the mass of 40,000 soldiers, concentrated at Gwalior, rendered them an object of anxiety to the governor-general. The doctrine openly inculcated by

Lord Wellesley—of the rights and obligations of the British government, as the paramount power in India—was urged by Lord Ellenborough as the basis of his proposed movements with regard to Gwalior. An army was assembled at the close of 1843; and while one division, comprising about eight or nine thousand men, marched from Bundelcund, and crossed the Sindé river at Chandpoor, the main body, about 14,000 strong, under the command of Sir Hugh Gough, accompanied by the governor-general, crossed the Chumbul near the town of Dholpoor, and on the 26th of December encamped at Hingona, twenty-three miles north-west of the fort of Gwalior. Marching thence on the 29th, the British force came in front of a Mahratta host, about 18,000 in number, encamped fifteen miles from Gwalior, near the villages of Maharajpoor and Chonda. The details of the ensuing engagement are unsatisfactorily recorded. That the British came unexpectedly on the enemy, is proved by the fact that Lord Ellenborough (not a military man, as he sorrowfully said) was on the field, and also the ladies of the family of the commander-in-chief. The conflict was desperate, and the English suffered severe loss from the numerous and well-served artillery of the foe; but they prevailed, as usual, by sheer hard fighting, marching up under a murderous fire to the mouths of the cannon, bayoneting the gunners, and driving all before them. Flinging away their matchlocks, the Mahrattas fell back on Maharajpoor, where they held their ground, sword in hand, until General Valiant, at the head of a cavalry brigade, charged the village in the rear, and dispersed the foe with much slaughter. The survivors retreated to Gwalior, leaving on the field fifty-six pieces of artillery, and all their ammunition waggons. The total loss of British troops was 106 killed and 684 wounded. On the same day, Major-general Grey encountered 12,000 Mahrattas at Puniar, twelve miles south-west of Gwalior, captured all their artillery, and slew a large number of them, his own loss being twenty-five killed and 189 wounded. The victorious forces met beneath the walls of the ancient stronghold, which, on the 4th of January, 1844, was taken possession of by the contingent force commanded by British officers. At the base of the temple stood the Lashkar, or stationary camp, where about 5,000 Mahrattas, being amply

* *Vide Napier's Sindé; and Outram's Commentary.*

supplied with artillery, held out until the offer of liquidation of arrears, and three months' additional pay, induced them to surrender their arms and ammunition, and disperse quietly.

The native durbar attempted no further opposition to the views of the governor-general, and a treaty was concluded on the 13th Jan., 1844, by which the Maharance was handsomely pensioned, but excluded from the government; and the administration vested in a council of regency, under the control of the British Resident, during the minority of the Maharajah. The fortress of Gwalior was ceded in perpetuity, and the sum of twenty-six lacs, or an equivalent in land, was demanded by Lord Ellenborough, in payment of long-standing claims; the subsidiary force was increased, and the maximum of the native army fixed at 9,000 men, of whom not more than one-third were to be infantry. The good conduct of the young rajah led to his being permitted to assume the reins of power before the expiration of the stated interval, and at its close, in 1853, he was formally seated on the musnud, and confirmed in the authority he had previously exercised on sufferance.*

The hostilities carried on with China, however important in themselves, have no place in the already overcrowded history of India; but it would be unjust to Lord Ellenborough, to omit noticing his vigorous and successful exertions for the dispatch of troops and stores to the seat of war. The reasons for his recall by the E. I. Directory in July, 1844, were not made public; and it would be superfluous to speculate upon them in a work the object of which is to state facts, not opinions.

HARDINGE ADMINISTRATION: 1844 to 1848.—Lord Ellenborough's successor, Sir Henry Hardinge, employed the brief interval of tranquillity enjoyed by the Anglo-Indian government in promoting public works, in

* Churut Sing founded the fortunes of his family by establishing a sirdaree or governorship, which his son, Maha Sing, consolidated by the capture of the fort and town of Ramnuggur, from a strong Mohammedan tribe called Chettas. Maha Sing died in 1780, leaving one son, a child then four years old, the afterwards famous Runjeet Sing. The mother and mother-in-law of the young chief ruled in his name until the year 1793, when Runjeet became impatient of control, and sanctioned, or (according to Major Smyth) himself committed the murder of his mother, on the plea of her shameless immorality—a procedure in which he closely imitated the conduct of his father, likewise a matricide. The conquest of Lahore, in 1798, from some Seik chiefs by whom it was conjointly governed, was the first step of the

improving the discipline of the army, ameliorating the condition of the native troops, and endeavouring to produce a more friendly spirit between the military and civil services.

The progress of much-needed reforms was soon arrested by the outbreak of war on the north-western frontier, which was met by the governor-general in a firm and decisive spirit. Upon the death of the old Lion of the Punjab—the mighty robber-chief who had raised himself from the leadership of a small Jat tribe to the rank of Maharajah of the Seiks,—the kingdom he had founded was shaken to its base by a series of durbar intrigues and midnight assassinations, exceeding in atrocity the worst crimes committed at the worst periods of Hindoo or Mohammedan history. Kurruck Sing, the successor, and, it was generally believed, the only son of the deceased ruler, was deprived, first of reason and then of life, by the hateful machinations of the minister Rajah Delra Sing and his profligate and abandoned son Heera (the pampered minion of Runjeet), the leading members of a powerful family, generally known as the Lords of Jummo, a principality conquered from the Rajpoots.† The incrimination of Kurruck Sing was scarcely ended, when some loose bricks fell on the head of his son No Nehal Sing, who was placed in a litter and carried off by the arch plotter Dehra, before the extent of the injury could be ascertained by the bystanders, and kept from the presence of his family until the crime had been completed, and the young rajah was a corpse. Murder followed murder: men and women, the guilty and the innocent, the vizier in the council-chamber, the general at the head of the army, the lady at her toilette, the babe in its cradle, were by turns the victims of unscrupulous ambition, covetousness of wealth, lust, cowardice, or vengeance. Dehra and

ladder by which Runjeet mounted to power. Multan and Peshawur were captured in 1818; Cashmere in the following year; and Runjeet's career of plunder and subjugation ceased not until a wall of impenetrable mountains closed its extension northward, in a manner scarcely less decisive than the check to his progress southward and eastward, previously given by the English, when their prudent interference compelled him to find in the Sutleja barrier as impassable as the Himalayas themselves.—(Prinsep's *Seiks*; Smyth's *Reigning Family of Lahore*; Shahamet Ali's *Seiks and Affghans*; Hügel's *Travels in Cashmere and the Punjab*.)

† The almost independent power which Runjeet Sing suffered the Lords of Jummo and other favourite chiefs to assume, was one of the causes of the fierce civil war for which his death gave the signal.

Heera Sing fell, each at a different crisis, while holding the office of vizier. Sheer Sing, the son of one of Runjeet's wives, obtained for a time the throne; but was murdered in 1843, after which a state of wide-spread anarchy prevailed throughout the Punjab, the chief remaining semblance of authority being vested in the person of Ranee Chunda, a concubine of the late Runjeet Sing, and the mother of a boy named Duleep Sing, who, though notoriously not the son of the Maharajah, had been in some sort treated by him as such. Delhra Sing, wanting a puppet, had drawn this child from obscurity; and his mother, under the title of regent, became the head of a faction, the opposers of which took their stand by declaiming truly against the spurious origin of Duleep Sing, and the shameless immorality of Ranee Chunda; and untruly, with regard to her alleged efforts to intrigue with the English against the independence of the Seik nation. Now, in fact, the only point upon which the various Seik parties had ever shown any degree of unanimity, was that of enmity to the British; and much evidence has gradually been brought to light of the actual treachery, as well as passive breach of treaty committed by them during the Afghan war. The intemperate language of Sir Charles Napier in Sind, and his undisguised anticipation of war in the Punjab, had been published, doubtless with exaggeration, throughout that kingdom; and the general feeling of the Seiks was anxiety to assume an offensive position, and meet, if not anticipate, the expected invasion. The French officers in the Seik service (Ventura and M. Court), appear to have borne little part in the past commotions; but their exertions, together with those of Allard and the Neapolitan Avitabile, on whom Runjeet conferred the government of Peshawur, had been sedulously and successfully employed in casting cannon, organising artillery, and disciplining troops after the European fashion.

The preparations made at Lahore for the passage of the Sutlej by a Seik army, could not long be concealed from the governor-general, who, with all practicable expedition and secrecy, concentrated 32,000 men and sixty-eight guns in and about Ferozepoor, Loodiana, and Umballa. Towards the middle of December, the Seiks crossed their boundary, bringing with them large quantities of heavy artillery; and one body of 25,000 regulars and eighty-eight guns, took up a

position near the village of Ferozshah; whilst another force of 23,000 men and sixty-seven guns, encamped opposite Ferozepoor. Both divisions commenced throwing up earthworks around their camps, and preparing for a vigorous contest.

The governor-general had hastened to the frontier to superintend the necessary preparations at the various cantonments. On learning the passage of the Sutlej by the Seiks, in direct contravention of existing treaties, he issued a declaration of war, and, in conjunction with the commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Gough, advanced with the main column from Bussean (the military depôt) towards Ferozepoor. On reaching the village of Moodkee (18th December, 1845), tidings were received of a hostile encampment some three miles off, comprising a large body of troops, chiefly cavalry, supported by twenty-two guns. It was mid-day, and the English were weary with marching; nevertheless they started forward, after a brief interval for refreshment. The Seik artillery being advantageously posted behind some low jungle, fired briskly upon the advancing columns, but could not hinder the approach of the British horse artillery and light field batteries, which opened on them with steady precision, and caused a degree of confusion in their ranks, soon utterly broken by a sweeping charge of cavalry, closely followed by a continuous discharge from the muskets of the infantry. The Seiks were driven off by the bayonet whenever they attempted to make a stand, and fled leaving seventeen guns and large numbers of their dead comrades on the field. The slaughter would have been greater but for the weariness of the victors and the gathering darkness. The British returned to their camp at midnight, with the loss of 216 killed and 648 wounded, out of a force of 1,200 rank and file. Among the slain was Sir Robert Sale, who fell with his left thigh shattered by grapeshot. The victory was followed up by an attack on the intrenched camp of the enemy at Ferozshah. The Seiks were estimated at 35,000 rank and file, and eighty-eight guns; while the British numbered less than 18,000 men, and sixty-five guns. The disparity was sensibly felt, for the Seiks had proved themselves far more formidable opponents than had been expected; and their artillery (thanks to the labours of Ventura, Allard, Avitabile, and Court, and to the policy of encouraging foreign adventurers to enter

the service of native princes, and prohibiting Englishmen from a similar proceeding) excelled ours in calibre as much as in number, was in admirable order, and thoroughly well served. The British advanced from Mood-kee, and reached the hostile encampment about eleven o'clock on the 21st of December. The engagement commenced with an attack by the artillery on the Seik lines, which extended nearly a mile in length and half a mile in breadth. An order was given to the infantry to seize the enemy's guns; and the terrible task was effected with so much success, that the battle seemed almost gained, when the sudden fall of night obliged the combatants to cease fighting, because they could no longer distinguish friend from foe. The main body of the British forces was withdrawn a few hundred yards, and while resting under arms, some of the Seik guns which had not been taken possession of, were brought to bear on the recumbent troops. The governor-general mounted his horse and led the gallant 80th, with a portion of the 1st Bengal Europeans, against the hostile guns, carried them at a charge, caused them to be spiked, and returned to his previous station. The remainder of the night was one of extreme anxiety to the British commanders: their loss had been most severe; and the reserve force, under Sir Harry Smith, had been compelled to retire; while reinforcements were believed to be on their way to join the Seiks. The "mettle" of the troops and of their dauntless leaders was never more conspicuous: at daybreak they renewed the attack with entire success, secured the whole of the seventy-six guns opposed to them, and cleared the entire length of the hostile works; the enemy falling back on the reserve, which arrived just in time to prevent their total destruction. Thus strengthened, the vanquished Seiks were enabled to recross the Sutlej without molestation. The English found full and melancholy occupation in burying their dead and nursing the wounded. Nearly 700 perished on the field; and of above 1,700 placed in hospital at Ferozepoor, 600 died or were disabled from further service.

The great loss thus sustained, and the want of a battering train, prevented the conquerors from marching on Lahore, and bringing the war to a summary conclusion. Many weeks elapsed before the arrival of reinforcements enabled Sir Hugh Gough again to take the field; and in the interval, the Seiks threw a bridge of boats

across the Sutlej, and encamped at Sobraon, on the left bank of the river, where, under the direction of two European engineers, they constructed an almost impregnable *tête-du-pont*. Another body crossed the river and took post at the village of Aliwal, near Loodiana. Sir Harry Smith was dispatched from Ferozepoor to relieve Loodiana, which having effected, he marched against Aliwal with a force of about 10,000 men, and advanced to the attack on the 28th Jan., 1846, with his entire line. A brief cannonade and a cavalry charge was followed by the onset of the infantry: the village was carried by the bayonet, the opposing guns captured, and the foe driven with great slaughter across the river. Smith returned to Ferozepoor on the 8th of February, and on the following day the long-expected heavy guns reached the British camp. Before daybreak on the 10th the troops marched forth to attack the formidable intrenchments of an enemy estimated at 51,000 men, and supported by seventy pieces of artillery. The British numbered 16,000 rank and file, with ninety-nine guns. They advanced under a murderous fire from cannon, muskets, and camel guns, and in more than one place were repeatedly forced back, but the charge was invariably renewed. Line after line was carried, in the accustomed manner, by the bayonet, and the victory was completed by the fierce onslaught of a body of cavalry, under General Thackwell. The Seik guns, camel swivels, and standards were abandoned, and the retreating mass driven over their bridge of boats across the river, hundreds perishing by the fire of the horse artillery, and many more being drowned in the confusion. The English lost 320 killed (including the veteran Sir Thomas Dick, with other officers of note), and the wounded amounted to 2,063. The victorious army marched to Lahore; and there, beneath the city walls, dictated the terms of peace. The governor-general was disposed to recognise the claims of the boy Duleep Sing as Maharajah, and 10,000 men were left at Lahore (under the command of Sir John Littler) for his support and the preservation of peace. The Seik government, or durbar, consented to defray the expenses of the war, amounting to a million and a-half sterling, and agreed to the disbandment of their turbulent soldiery, of whom the majority had been already temporarily dispersed. Sir Henry Hardinge returned to England, and was rewarded for zealous and successful service by eleva-

tion to the peerage; a similar mark of royal favour was conferred on Sir Hugh Gough.

DALHOUSIE ADMINISTRATION: 1848 to 1855.—The recent Seik treaty was not carried out, and appears to have been merely signed as a means of gaining time. A new series of crimes and intrigues commenced; and, as before, hatred of the English was the only common feeling of the various leaders of factions. The first signs of open hostility appeared in the ancient city of Mooltan, the capital of a petty state between the Indus and the Sutlej, conquered by Runjeet Sing in 1818. The British assistant Resident (Mr. Vans Agnew) and Lieutenant Anderson of the Bombay army, were assassinated in the fortress by Moolraj the governor, against whom hostile operations were immediately commenced; the earlier of which were characterised by a remarkable display of energy and judgment on the part of Major Herbert Edwardes, then a subaltern, "who had seen but one campaign."* The strong fortress of Mooltan was besieged in August, and would probably have been captured in the following month, but for the treacherous defection of a large body of Seik auxiliaries, which, with other unmistakable indications of hostility, left (in the words of Lord Dalhousie) "no other course open to us than to prosecute a general Punjab war with vigour, and ultimately to occupy the country with our troops."

In November, 1849, a British army, under Lord Gough, again took the field, and marched from Ferozepoor to Ramnuggur, near the Chenab, where a Seik force lay encamped. The attack of the British proved successful, but their loss was heavy, and included the gallant General Cureton, Colonel Havelock, and Captain Fitzgerald. The Seiks retreated in order towards the Jhelum, while Lord Gough prepared to follow up his victory by an attack on Lahore. The siege of Mooltan, conducted by General Whish, was brought to a successful issue on the 2nd of January, 1849. The fortress was most vigorously defended, until its massive fortifications were completely undermined, and several practicable breaches effected. Orders had been given to storm the citadel at daybreak, and the troops were actually forming, when Moolraj presented himself at the chief gate, and proceeding straight to the tent of the English general, surrendered the keys and his own sword.

* *Year on the Punjab Frontier*, pp. 281-2.

A garrison was left in Mooltan, and the remainder of the army marched off to join the commander-in-chief, but arrived too late to share the peril and the glory of the much-criticised battle of Chillianwallah. Events so recent are hardly fit subjects of history. It is seldom until the chief actors have passed away from the stage that the evidence brought forward is sufficiently clear and full to enable the most diligent investigator to form a correct judgment on their merits and demerits.

Early in January, Lord Gough proceeded towards the Chenab, and found, as he expected, the Seiks strongly posted near Chillianwallah, with their artillery planted in a commanding and safe position, under cover of some low but dense jungle. The British marched to the attack, as they had often done before, amid a storm of grape and shell, and after a long and sanguinary engagement, which lasted till after nightfall, carried the murderous guns with the bayonet, and purchased victory with the loss of 757 killed and above 2,000 wounded. The carnage among the Seiks must have been yet more terrible; nevertheless, being joined by a body of Afghan horse, they prepared to renew the contest. The final struggle took place on the 21st of February, a few miles from the town of Gujerat. The battle was opened by Lord Gough with a fierce cannonade, which was maintained without intermission for nearly three hours. At the expiration of that time the Seiks made a retrograde movement, upon which the whole British force rushed forth on the foe, and with bayonet, lance, and sword completed the overthrow commenced by the heavy guns. Chutter Sing, Sheer Sing, and other leaders, surrendered to the victors; the Afghans fled across the Indus; the Seik forces were disbanded; and there being in truth no legitimate heir to the usurpations of Runjeet Sing, the Punjab was unavoidably annexed to British India. Its present satisfactory and improving condition will be found described in an ensuing section.

Second Burmese War.—Nearly two years were passed by the governor-general in active usefulness, without any interruption of the general tranquillity; the only occasion for military interference being to suppress the inroads of the Afredees and other predatory tribes in the vicinity of Peshawur. The sole quarter from which hostility was anticipated was Burmah, the very one from which it was most earnestly to be depre-

eated by all inclined to take warning by past experience.

The Earl of Dalhousie was deeply impressed with this conviction, and scrupled not, with characteristic frankness, to declare his opinion, that "conquest in Burmah would be a calamity second only to the calamity of war."* The deeply disordered finances of India had been rapidly improving under his peaceful and able administration, and he looked forward with sincere repugnance to a contingency which would assuredly produce "exhausted cash balances and reopened loans."† Nevertheless, a series of unfortunate events produced the renewal of war. The treaty of Yandaboo had been preserved inviolate by the sovereign with whom it was made; but his deposition, in 1837, gave a new turn to affairs. His usurping brother, known to the English as a military leader by the name of Prince Therawaddi, manifested great annoyance at the presence of a political agent at Ava, and the residency was in consequence removed to Rangoon, and subsequently altogether withdrawn from Burmah. The British continued to trade with Rangoon for the following twelve years; and during that time many complaints of oppression and breach of treaty were brought against the Burmese government, but none of these were deemed of sufficient extent or significance to call for the interference of the Calcutta authorities, until the close of 1851, when the commanders of two British vessels laid before Lord Dalhousie a formal statement of oppressive judgments delivered against them by the governor of Rangoon in his judicial capacity. Commodore Lambert was dispatched from Calcutta with full and very clear instructions regarding the course to be pursued—namely, first to satisfy himself regarding the justice of these allegations, and then to demand about £900 as compensation.

On reaching Rangoon, numbers of resident traders (styled by Lord Ellenborough the *Don Pacificoes* of Rangoon) pushed off in their boats with a strange assortment of complaints against the governor; whereupon Commodore Lambert, without waiting to consult Lord Dalhousie on the subject, broke off all intercourse with the local functionary, and commanded him, in very peremptory language, to forward a letter to the King of Ava, stating the object of the British mission, and demanding the disgrace

of the offending intermediary. The letter was dispatched, and an answer returned, that the obnoxious individual had received his dismissal, and that the required compensation would be granted. A new governor arrived at Rangoon, whose conduct induced the commodore to doubt the sincerity of the professions made by the Burmese authorities; and so far he was probably correct. But, unfortunately, his peculiar position as a Queen's officer,‡ is alleged to have given him a sort of independence, which induced the violation of Lord Dalhousie's express injunction, that no act of hostility should be committed by the British mission, however unfavourable its reception, until definite instructions had been obtained from Calcutta. The refusal of the governor to receive a deputation sent by the commodore at mid-day on the 6th Jan., 1852,—offered by the Burmese attendants on the plea that their master was asleep, according to custom, at that hour (and afterwards excused on the plea that the deputies were intoxicated, which has been wholly denied),—was immediately resented by a notice from the commodore for all British subjects to repair to the squadron—an order which was obeyed by several hundred men, women, and children. No opposition was made to their embarkation, but those who remained behind were thrown into prison. The next and wholly unauthorised measure was to take possession of a painted war-hulk, styled the "yellow ship," belonging to the King of Ava, which lay at anchor a little above the British vessels. This procedure, which has been almost universally censured, produced a declaration from the governor of Rangoon, that any attempt to carry away the property of the king, would be forcibly resisted. The British persisted in towing the vessel out of the river; and on passing the great stockade, or battery, a fire was opened on them, but soon silenced by a broadside from the squadron, which "must have done great execution."§ Commodore Lambert declared the coast of Burmah in a state of blockade, and left in a steamer for Calcutta, to seek other instructions than those he had violated in ill-judged retaliation.

The notoriously hostile spirit of the Burmese government, probably induced Lord Dalhousie to confirm the general proceedings of Lambert, despite his undisguised disapproval of the seizure of the "yellow ship."

* Further (Parl.) Papers on Burmese war, p. 44.

† *Idem*, p. 87.

‡ Cobden's *Origin of Burmese War*, 7.

§ Lambert's Despatch. Further Papers, 41.

The previous demand for compensation was reiterated and received with a degree of evasion which was deemed equivalent to rejection; and both parties made ready for an appeal to arms. The British commander-in-chief, Lord Gough, was absent at Simla; but though a brave soldier, he was a man of advanced age; and the ability of Lord Dalhousie and his council abundantly sufficed to overcome all deficiencies, including those encountered in the raising of the Madras contingent, through the insubordination of the governor, Sir Henry Pottinger, who tacitly opposed Lord Dalhousie at every point,—not through any conscientious feeling regarding the war, but simply from personal irritation, caused by some petty jealousy of office.* The Bombay authorities, aided by the head of the Indian navy (Commodore Lushington) and his able subordinates, captains Lynch and Hewett, bestirred themselves actively in the preparation of the steam fleet, and on the 2nd of April the Bengal division arrived at the mouth of the Rangoon river; the previous day having been fixed by the governor-general as that on which the King of Ava was to decide whether he would avoid war by the payment of £100,000 in consideration of the expenses incurred by the British, and sanction the residence of an accredited agent at Rangoon, in compliance with the treaty of Yandaboo. The steamer dispatched to Rangoon to receive the reply of the Burmese government, was compelled to retreat under a shower of shot from the stockades lining the river; and the campaign commenced. Martaban was stormed with little loss, and occupied by a strong garrison. The Madras division arrived soon after; and the united forces amounted to about 8,000 men, commanded by General Godwin, an active and fearless veteran, who had served under Campbell in the previous war, but whose projects were sadly fettered by an exaggerated respect for the proceedings of his predecessor. Rangoon was blockaded on the 10th of April, 1852, and the following day (Easter Sunday) witnessed a desperate and prolonged struggle. The intense heat, under which many officers dropped down dead, impeded operations; and it was not until the 14th that the fall of the Golden

Pagoda completed the capture of Rangoon, which was obtained with the loss to the victors of about 150 killed and wounded. Bassein (once the head-quarters of the Portuguese in Eastern India) was carried with ease in June, and strongly garrisoned; but the dilapidated city of Pegu, which next fell into the hands of a British detachment, though evacuated on their approach, was abandoned by them, owing to insufficiency of troops. General Godwin sent to Calcutta for reinforcements, and especially for light cavalry, horse artillery, and a field battery. These were assembled and dispatched with all possible celerity; and the governor-general, probably dissatisfied with the progress of hostilities, himself visited the seat of war. Prome was taken possession of in July, but abandoned, like Pegu, for want of men, upon which the enemy returned, and made preparations for its defence. The reinforcements which reached the British cantonments in September, raised the army under General Godwin to nearly 20,000 efficient troops, and might, it was considered, have amply sufficed for more extensive enterprises than were attempted. Prome was recaptured, with little difficulty, in October, and Pegu in November; and both places were permanently occupied. An effort was made for the recovery of Pegu by the Burmese, which proved ineffectual; and an engagement with a body of the enemy, near Pegu, was chiefly remarkable for the gallantry displayed by the irregular Seik horse, who proved valuable auxiliaries to their late conquerors.

In December, 1852, the governor-general declared the province of Pegu annexed to the British empire, and intimated that no further hostilities would be pursued by the Anglo-Indian government, if the Burmese were content to submit quietly to the loss of territory which, it must be remembered, they had themselves acquired by usurpation. A new revolution at Ava, caused by the deposition of the king, Therawaddi, by one of his brothers (a procedure similar to that by which he raised himself to the throne), occasioned a cessation of foreign hostilities,† which has lasted up to the present time (1855), but really amounts to nothing more

* See an able article entitled "Annals of the Bengal Presidency for 1852," *Calcutta Review*, Mar., 1853.

† The assassination of Captain Latter, the deputy commissioner at Prome, in December, 1853, has been variously attributed to the treachery of the Burmese government, and to the vengeance of a petty chief, in whose subjugation to British autho-

rity he was personally instrumental. The murder was committed in the dead of night, and nothing but life was taken. The assertion that a woman's garment was found on the body, though often repeated, has been authoritatively denied; and of the whole mysterious affair nothing is certain but the death of a brave, scientific, and energetic officer.

than an armed neutrality, resting on a precarious basis.

The next event in the administration of Lord Dalhousie was the deposition of Ali Morad, the only remaining Ameer of Sind, from the position of a dependent prince, to that of an ordinary subject holding a large jaghire. The death of Rajah Ragojee of Nagpoor or Berar (the successor of Appa Sahib), in December, 1853, without issue or male heir, was followed by the unopposed annexation of the principality to British India. In Hyderabad (the Deccan), certain portions of territory were surrendered about the same time by the Nizam to the British government, and the revenues of the districts thus obtained are to be applied to the reduction of the heavy outstanding debt, and the maintenance of the stipulated military contingent. Beside these troops the Nizam lavishes sums, ill-spared from revenues which probably do not largely exceed a million sterling, in the maintenance of a turbulent armed force of Arab, Patan, and Rohilla mercenaries,—the terror of surrounding districts, but especially of the more peaceful of his own subjects.

In Oude, the progress of annexation will probably not long be stayed. The notorious misgovernment which has prevailed in that kingdom, under successive rulers, and its general and undisputed disorganisation, produced a distinct intimation from Lord Auckland, in 1842, on the occasion of the accession of Surya Jah to the musnud, that unless the reforms necessary to the tranquillity and welfare of the country were forthwith instituted, its affairs would be taken under British management. This declaration has had no effect in rendering the present sovereign a better ruler than his predecessors; on the contrary, he is said to have "perhaps even surpassed them in weakness and profligacy." A religious war is, by our last accounts, now raging between the Hindoos and Mohammedans: under these circumstances, it is hardly to be expected that the English government will persist in upholding the despotic authority of a worthless and immoral dynasty.

The incursion of several hill tribes on the north-western frontier, especially of the Momunds, have occupied the troops at different periods. In the present year (1855), the Sonthals, an aboriginal race located near the Rajmahal hills in Bahar, have risen in insurrection. Their cause of complaint is variously stated to have originated

in the tricks of Bengal money-lenders, and the oppressions of certain minor railway officials who have recently come among them. The Sonthals, though quite uncivilised, have been heretofore peaceable and well-disposed; and now that the late disturbances are passing away, it is to be hoped efforts will be made to promote the material and spiritual welfare of these and other *pariahs* or outcasts of the population, as the best and most legitimate means of ensuring the general tranquillity.

The failing health of Lord Dalhousie has conduced to give a term to an administration which has proved no less honourable to himself than beneficial to India. His lordship left his native land with a high reputation for practical ability gained as President of the Board of Trade and of the railway department: he returns still in the vigour of manhood, with matured experience and unsullied integrity. His seven years' tenure of office has borne fruit abundantly throughout the vast territories comprised in British India. In the Punjab, Pegu, and Berar, annexed by him, the basis of an effective government has been laid, and there, as in our older possessions, the progress of freedom and civilisation, so slow even in Christian Europe, has extended with comparative rapidity. The establishment of railways at the three presidencies and in Sind, of telegraphic communication between the chief cities, of cheap and uniform postage, the increase of the means of conveyance and irrigation, the reduction of import dues, the creation of a loan for public works, and the open discussion of governmental projects and acts;—these improvements, together with an energy and dispatch in the executive department before unknown, the character and efforts of the governor-general have had no small share in producing. The personal investigation of the condition of every Indian province, enabled him to gain unusual acquaintance with their peculiar and widely different requirements; while the charm of a frank and generous spirit, heightened by easy yet refined eloquence, procured for him, as for his great exemplar Lord Wellesley, the zealous co-operation of the best talent of the military and civil service. Lord Canning (the son of the distinguished statesman appointed in 1822 to take his place in the list of Anglo-Indian viceroys, but arrested by the offer of ministerial employment at home) has been nominated to succeed Lord Dalhousie.

Date.	Usual Name of Battle or Place.	Under whose Administration.	Enemy against whom Fought.	Strength of British Army.						
				Europeans.				Native.		Total.
				Artillery.		Cavalry.	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Infantry.	
				Guns.	Men.					
14th Nov., 1751	Siege of Arcot—see p. 264.	Mr. Sanderson, Govr. of Madras.	Reza Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib, the Nabob of Arcot.	5	—	—	200	—	300	500
23d June, 1757	Plassy; in Nuddea dist.—see p. 278.	Clive.* . . .	Surajah Dowlah, Nabob of Bengal.	10 eight 6-pds. and 2 howts.	150	—	850	—	2,300	3,300
15th Jan., 1761	Battle of Patna—see p. 293.	Mr. Vansittart.	Shah Alum, Emperor of Delhi.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2nd Aug., 1763	Geriah; near Sootee, Moorshedabad—p. 297.	Ditto . . .	Meer Cossim, ex-Nabob of Bengal.	—	—	—	750	750	1,500	3,000
5th Sept., 1763	Oodwanulla Fort; Bhaugulpoor dis.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	3,000	—	—	—	3,000
6th Nov., 1763	Patna taken by storm—p. 298.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
23rd Oct., 1764	Buxar—p. 299 . .	Ditto . . .	Vizier of Oude . .	20	—	—	857	918	5,297	7,072
6th Mar., 1799	Sedaseer; near Periapatam—p. 379.	Marquis Wellesley.	Tippoo Sultan . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,420
27th Mar., 1799	Malavelly; in Mysoor—p. 379.	Ditto . . .	Tippoo	{	756	912	4,608	1,766	11,061	41,649
4th May, 1799	Seringapatam, Storm of, p. 381.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	{	—	—	—	2,726	Gun L	ascars.
4th Sept., 1803	Allyghur Fort, Storm of, p. 396.	Ditto . . .	Mahrattas, commanded by French officers	—	—	—	—	20,000	Nizam's Con.	20000 ^a
11th Sept., 1803	Delhi—p. 396 . . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,500
23rd Sept., 1803	Assaye; in Hyderabad ter.—p. 395.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,500
1st Nov., 1803	Laswarree—p. 397.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,500
28th Nov., 1803	Argaum—p. 398 .	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14th Dec., 1803	Gawilghur Fort—p. 398.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13th Nov., 1804	Deeg; nr. Bhurtpoor—p. 402.	Ditto . . .	Mahrattas (110lear)	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,648 ^b
24th Dec., 1804	Deeg Fort—p. 401	Ditto . . .	Rajah of Bhurtpoor.	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,000 ^c
9th Jan., 1805	Unsuccessful storm of Bhurtpoor.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,382 ^c
21st Jan., 1805	Second do. } pp.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
20th Feb., 1805	Third do. } 401.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21st Feb., 1805	Fourth do. } 401-2.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
31st Oct., 1814	Unsuccessful attack of Kalunga Fort—p. 411.	Marquis Hastings.	Goorkhas.	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,737
27th Nov., 1814	Do. assault, p. 412.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,477
27th Feb., 1816	Muckwanpoor—p. 413.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	10,000 ^c
5th Nov., 1817	Kirkee, nr. Poona—p. 417.	Ditto . . .	Mahrattas	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,800

* In the fifty days during which the siege was protracted, the British loss in defeating the attempt to storm was only four Europeans killed and two sepoy's wounded.

^b This number includes the sick; the number that actually repulsed the storm on the 14th November amounting to 80 Europeans and 120 sepoy's.

^c On the 14th November; there are no means of ascertaining previous casualties.

^d Of these 150 were French.

^e The powers of the governor and council of Calcutta, in civil and commercial affairs, were preserved to them, but in all military matters Clive was invested with independent authority.

^f Some say 35,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry; also forty Frenchmen with four light pieces of artillery.

^g One of the remarkable events of this battle was the capture of Monsieur Law, who, with a few French troops, had hitherto been the chief support of the native armies against the English.

^h Worked by 170 Europeans.

ⁱ Exclusive of large bodies of irregular cavalry.

^j Of these 2,000 were drowned in the Caramnassa.

^k This includes sixteen missing.

^l The number is stated between 40,000 and 50,000.

^m This was the whole force employed in the siege; the two divisions which carried the place did not number more than 4,000 men.

ⁿ These numbers include the casualties during the whole period of the siege, from 4th April to 4th May.

^o The number estimated to have fallen in the assault.

^p Exclusive of the Rajah of Berar's infantry and Sindia's irregular corps.

Guns.	Enemy.			British Army Killed and Wounded.								Enemy.		Artillery captured.	Name of British Commander.
	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Total	Killed.				Wounded.				Killed.	Wounded.		
				Europeans.		Natives.	Total.	Europeans.		Natives.	Total.				
				Offi- cers.	Men.			Offi- cers.	Men.						
9	3,000	7,150 ^d	10,150	1	45	30	76 ^a	2	22	5	227 ^b	40	0 ^e	8	Captain (afterwards Lord) Clive.
54 24 & 32- pds.	18,000	50,000	58,000 ^f	—	6	16	22	2	10	36	48	60	0	50	Clive.
—	10,000	10,000	20,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Major Carnac.
—	20,000	8,000	28,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17 ^h	Major Adams.
—	60,000	60,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	Ditto.
—	—	10,000 ^g	10,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Major Carnac.
—	40,000	40,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	kill. & 84	wond. 7	—	—	4,000 ⁱ	133	Major Munro.
—	40,000	40,000	—	—	—	—	45 ^k	—	—	—	98	2,000	—	—	General Stuart.
—	45,000 ^l	45,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	kill. & 6	wond. 6	—	2,000	—	—	General Harris.
—	—	—	48,000	22	181	119	322 ⁿ	45	622	420	1,087 ^a	8,000 ^o	—	—	Lord Harris.
—	—	—	—	6	49	—	55	11	19	4	205	2,000	—	281	General (afterwards Lord) Lake.
—	—	—	19,000	5	102	8	107	11	33	5	346	3,000	—	68	General Lake.
—	35,000	10,500	45,500 ^p	23	Mis- 40 sing 40 3	18	426	30	1,106	—	1,136	1,200 ^q	—	98	Gl. Wellesley (Duke of Wellington.)
72	4,500	9,000	13,500	11	Mis- 16 sing 4 6	—	172	25	62	6	651	7,000	—	71	General Lake.
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	29	1	300	—	—	38	General Wellesley.
—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	125	—	—	52	Colonel Stevenson.
—	—	—	15,000 ^r	5	—	—	—	17	—	—	638	2,000 ^u	—	87	Major-general Fraser.
—	—	—	—	2	41	—	43	13	171	—	184	—	—	100	Lord Lake.
—	—	—	—	5	38	42	85	23	183	165	371	—	—	—	Lord Lake.
—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	15	—	—	588	—	—	—	Ditto.
—	—	—	—	1	48	113	162	27	456	556	732	—	—	—	Ditto.
—	—	—	—	6	63	56	125	27	452	452	862	—	—	—	Ditto.
—	—	400	—	5	4	23	32	15	50	163	228	—	—	—	Major-general Gillespie.
—	—	—	550	4	15	18	37	7	215	221	443	48	0	—	Colonel Mawbey.
—	—	—	12,000	1	11	34	46	1	19	156	176	80	0	—	Major-general Ochterlony.
—	—	—	25,000	—	17	2	19	1	55	11	67	50	0	—	Lieutenant-colonel C. B. Bnrr.

^a A large number of the wounded were scattered over the country.

^b The amount of the British force is not stated; it must, however, have been considerable, as a junction had been effected between the forces of General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson. The force placed at the disposal of the former, at the commencement of the campaign, amounted to 9,000; that of the latter to 8,000 men.

^c Major-general Fraser's force consisted of H.M.'s. 76th regiment, the Company's European regiment, and four battalions of sepoys, exclusive of two battalions left for the protection of the baggage. The strength of the four battalions and the two European regiments engaged in the attack, may be estimated at the amount stated in the Table.

^d Thorn says twenty-four battalions of infantry, besides a considerable body of horse. Captain Thornton states that the cavalry, swelled by numerous adventurers, amounted to 60,000, to which were added 15,000 well-disciplined infantry. The numbers specified in the Table are those of the infantry alone.

^e Besides a large number drowned in a morass.

^f This number has reference only to the strength of the storming party. Lord Lake appears to have been present with his whole army, which consisted of upwards of 10,000 men.

^g The enemy's extensive intrenchments were occupied by a large force, but the numbers are not stated. The troops are represented to have consisted of several of the Rajah of Bhurtpoor's battalions, and the remaining infantry of Holcar.

^h This number comprises only the storming party. See Note to Deeg.

ⁱ The Bombay division, consisting of four battalions of sepoys, H.M.'s. 86th regiment, eight companies of the 65th, with a troop of Bombay cavalry, and 500 irregular horse, had now joined Lord Lake's force before Bhurtpoor.

^j Sir David Ochterlony had a force of near 20,000 men, including three European regiments. He divided this force into four brigades, with two of which he marched to Muckwanpoor.

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Date.	Usual Name of Battle or Place.	Under whose Administration.	Enemy against whom Fought.	Strength of British Army.						Total.
				Europeans.				Native.		
				Artillery.		Cavalry.	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Infantry.	
				Guns.	Men.					
26th and 27th Nov., 1817.	Seetabuldee; near Nagpoor—p. 418.	Marquis Hastings.	Mahrattas	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,400
21st Dec., 1817	Mahidpoor, p. 420	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	11,305
1st Jan., 1818	Corygaum, Defence of—p. 418.	Ditto . . .	Arabs in pay of Peishwa.	2	—	—	—	—	—	750
20th Feb., 1818	Ashtee Combat—p. 419.	Ditto . . .	Peishwa	—	—	—	—	—	—	419
27th Feb., 1818	Talneir, Storm of	Ditto . . .	Arabs	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
17th April, 1818	Soonee Battle . .	Ditto . . .	Mahrattas	—	—	—	—	—	—	513 ^b
20th May, 1818	Chanda Assault .	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	6,500 ^c
18th to 29th May, 1818.	Malligaum taken by Storm.	Ditto . . .	Arabs in Native employ.	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,630
8th to 10th June, 1818.	Satunwarree Fort; unsuccessful attack.	Ditto . . .	Mahrattas	—	—	—	—	—	—	550 ^c
31st Jan., 1819	Nowab; Hyderabad.	Ditto . . .	Arab Garrison . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9th April, 1819	Asseerghur taken by Storm—p. 420.	Ditto . . .	Sindia's Commandant, Jeswunt Rao Laar.	—	—	—	—	—	—	20,000 ^c
10th June, 1824	Kemendine, p. 424	Lord Amherst	Burmese	100	—	—	—	—	—	—
30th Oct., 1824	Martaban—p. 425	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	219 ^a
18th Jan., 1826	Bhurtpoor Storming—p. 427.	Ditto . . .	Rajah of Bhurtpoor	—	—	—	—	—	—	25,000
19th Jan., 1826	Melloone Storming—p. 427.	Ditto . . .	Burmese	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
23rd July, 1839	Ghuznee Capture—p. 436.	Lord Auckland.	Afghans	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,863
13th Nov., 1839	Kelat; in Beloochistan.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,261
7th April, 1842	Jellalabad Defence	Lord Ellenborough.	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,360
13th Sep., 1842	Tezeen Battle . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
17th Feb., 1843	Meancee; Sinde—p. 451.	Ditto . . .	Beloochees	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,600
24th Mar., 1843	Hyderabad; Sinde—p. 452.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
29th Dec., 1843	Puniar; Gwalior—p. 452.	Ditto . . .	Mahrattas (Sindia)	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,000
29th Dec., 1843	Maharajpoor—p. 452.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	40	—	—	—	—	—	14,000
18th Dec., 1845	Moodkee; left bank of Sutlej—p. 454.	Lord Hardinge.	Seiks, under Rajah Lall Sing.	—	3,850	—	—	8,500	—	12,350
21st and 22nd Dec., 1845.	Ferozshah; on the Sutlej—p. 454.	Ditto . . .	Seiks	65	5,674	—	—	12,053	—	17,727
28th Jan., 1846	Aliwal; on the Sutlej.	Ditto . . .	Seiks, under Runjoor Sing.	24	—	—	—	—	—	10,000
10th Feb., 1846	Sobraon; on the Sutlej.	Ditto . . .	Seiks	90	—	—	—	—	—	16,224
2nd Jan., 1849	Mooltan, Siege of .	Lord Dalhousie.	Seiks, under Moolraj.	150	—	15,000	—	17,000	—	32,000
13th Jan., 1849	Chillianwalla; in the Punjab.	Ditto . . .	Seiks	125	—	—	—	—	—	22,000
21st Feb., 1849	Gujerat; in the Punjab.	Ditto . . .	Ditto	96	—	—	—	—	—	25,000
14th Apr., 1852	Rangoon	Ditto . . .	Burmese	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sept., 1852 . .	Prome	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dec., 1852 . .	Pegu	Ditto . . .	Ditto	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

^a In Col. Blacker's *Memoir*, p. 18, Holcar's force is estimated at 20,000 horse and 8,000 foot.

^b The numbers here given have reference to the strength of the cavalry. In addition to this, there appears to have been a detachment of horse artillery.

^c The force consisted of 1,000 native cavalry, a troop of horse artillery, a company of European foot artillery, 3,000 native infantry, 2,000 irregular horse, with three 18-pounders, four brass 12's, six howitzers, and twelve 6-pounders.

^d Native garrison.

Guns.	Enemy.			British Army Killed and Wounded.								Enemy.		Artillery captured.	Name of British Commander.
	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Total.	Killed.				Wounded.				Killed.	Wounded.		
				Europeans.		Natives.	Total.	Europeans.		Natives.	Total.				
				Offi- cers.	Men.			Offi- cers.	Men.						
—	12,000	8,000	20,000	4	12 0	—	124	11	23 0	—	241	30 0	—	Lieutenant - colonel H. Scot.	
70	—	—	—	3	17 1	—	174	35	56 6	—	601	3,0 00	63	L.-gen. Sir T. Hislop.	
—	—	—	—	2	6 2	—	64	3	11 3	—	116	—	—	Captain Staunton	
—	9,000	—	9,000	—	—	—	19	1	—	—	—	20 0	—	Sir Lionel Smith	
—	—	—	300	2	5	—	7	5	1 3	—	18	25 0	—	L.-gen. Sir T. Hislop.	
—	—	—	2,000	1	1 2	—	13	4	5 1	—	55	1,0 00	5	Colonel Adams.	
—	—	—	350 ^a	5	2 9	—	34	7	16 8	—	175	20 0	—	Ditto.	
—	—	—	250	1	1 0	—	11	1	7 4	—	75	—	—	Lieutenant - colonel MacDowell.	
—	—	—	500	—	—	—	22	6	17 4	—	180	40 0	—	Major Lamb.	
—	—	—	1,350	1	4 6	—	47	9	25 7	—	266	43	95	Major Pitman.	
—	—	—	3,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15 0	—	Brigadier-general Doveton.	
—	—	—	3,500	—	—	—	7	1	1 3	—	14	—	—	Sir A. Campbell.	
—	—	—	—	61	42	—	103	—	283	183	466	4,0 00	—	Colonel Godwin.	
—	—	—	10,000	—	—	—	5	3	1 7	—	20	—	—	Lord Combermere	
—	—	—	3,000	—	—	—	17	—	—	—	170	514	—	Sir Archibald Campbell.	
—	—	—	2,000	1	3 1	—	32	8	9 9	—	107	400	—	Sir John Keane.	
—	—	—	6,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Major-general Willshire.	
—	—	—	16,000	—	—	—	32	3	12 7	—	130	—	—	Sir Robert Sale.	
15	—	—	35,000	6	6 0	—	66	13	20 1	—	214	5,0 00	—	General Pollock.	
—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	10	kill. & wond. 25 5	—	—	—	—	Sir Charles Napier	
—	—	—	12,000	—	—	—	35	—	—	—	182	—	—	Ditto.	
100	—	—	18,000	—	—	—	113	—	—	—	684	3,5 00	24	Major-general Grey	
22	—	—	12,000	16	20 0	—	216	48	60 9	—	657	—	56	Lord Gough.	
—	—	—	35,000	48	8	206	694	1,1 03	618	—	1,721	—	88	Ditto.	
—	—	—	19,000	—	—	—	176	—	—	—	413	—	68	Sir H. Smith.	
—	—	—	34,000	—	—	—	320	—	—	—	2,063	—	—	Lord Gough.	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	General Whish.	
—	—	—	60,000	26	73 1	—	757	66	1,4 46	—	1,512	4,0 00	12	Lord Gough.	
59	—	—	60,000	5	8 7	—	92	24	65 8	—	682	—	57	Ditto.	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	General Godwin.	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	

^a This was the number of men of which the storming party was composed.

^b The British force present at the conclusion of the siege, consisted of—horse artillery, one troop and a-half; native cavalry, eight squadrons; foot artillery, five companies; European infantry, two battalions and a-half; native infantry, eleven and a-half battalions; irregular horse, 5,000; sappers and miners, thirteen companies: and probably exceeded, in the aggregate, the amount stated in the Table.

^c The strength of the storming party.

[The above Table was prepared by order of the Court of Directors, at the request of the Author. The particulars which should appear in the columns left blank, cannot be furnished with perfect accuracy.]

CHAPTER II.

TOPOGRAPHY—MOUNTAINS AND PASSES—RIVERS—PLATEAUX—PROVINCES AND CHIEF TOWNS—CLIMATE AND DISEASES—GEOLOGY—SOIL—MINERALOGY.

Asia, — the largest and most diversified quarter of the globe, has for its central southern extremity a region of unsurpassed grandeur, comprising lofty mountains, large rivers, extensive plateaux, and wide-spread valleys, such as are not to be found within a like area in any other section of the earth. This magnificent territory, known under the general designation of India,* is in the form of an irregular pentagon, with an extreme extent, from north to south and from east to west, of 1,800 miles; a superficial area of 1,500,000 square miles; and a well-defined boundary of 9,000 English miles.†

The geographical position of India possesses several advantages. On the north, it is separated from China, Tibet, and Independent Tartary, for a distance of 1,800 miles, by the Himalayan chain and prolongations termed the Hindoo-Koosh, whose altitude varies from 16,000 to 27,000 feet (three to five miles), through which there is only one pass accessible to wheeled carriages (Bamian.) This gigantic wall has at its base an equally extended buttress, the sub-Himalaya and Sewalik hills, with, in one part, an intervening irregular plateau (Tibet) of 90 to 150 miles wide: on the *West*, the Hindoo-Koosh is connected by the low Khyber ranges with the lofty Sufied-Koh, and its conjoint the Suliman mountains, which rise 10,000 feet, like a mural front, above the Indus valley, and have a southerly course of 400 miles; the Suliman are connected by a transverse chain with the Bolan mountains, which proceed nearly due south for 250 miles, and become blended with the Keertar, Jutteel, and Lukkee hills; the latter terminating in the promontory of Cape Monze, a few miles to the north-west of the Indus mouth. This *western* boundary of 900 miles, supports the table-lands which constitute a large part of Afghanistan and Beloochistan: to these there are four principal ascents—the Khyber, Gomul, Bolan, and Gundava passes, readily defensible against the strategic

movements of any formidable enemy. On the *East*, an irregular series of mountains, hills, and highlands, extend from the source of the Brahmapootra, along the wild and unexplored regions of Naga, Munneepoor, and Tipperah, through Chittagong and Arracan to Cape Negrais (the extremity of the Youmadoung range), at the mouth of the Irawaddy river; to the southward and eastward of Pegu and Martaban, the Tenasserim ridge commences about one hundred miles distant from the coast, and prolongs the boundary to the Straits of Malacca, along the narrow strip of British territory which fronts the Bay of Bengal. The length of this *eastern* frontier is 1,500 miles, and it forms an effectual barrier against aggression from the Burmese, Siamese, or Malays, with whose states it is conterminous. On the *South*, the shores of the above-described territory are washed by the Bay of Bengal, the Straits of Malacca, the Indian Ocean, and the Arabian Sea, for 4,500 miles. The natural frontiers of this extensive region may be thus summarily noted:—north, along the Himalaya, 1,800; west, along Afghanistan, &c., 900; east, along Burmah, Siam, &c., 1,800: total by land, 4,500; by sea, 4,500 = 9,000 English miles.

No pen-and-ink description can convey an adequate idea of India as a whole; the mind may comprehend separate features, but must fail to realise at one view a complete portraiture, especially if devoid of unity of configuration: in several countries a mountain ridge and a main conduit form an outline, around which the chief topographical peculiarities may be grouped; but the region before us contains several lines of great length and elevation, with diverse axis of perturbation, and declinations to three of the cardinal points, causing numerous rivers, flowing S.W. (Indus); S.E. (Ganges); S. (Brahmapootra and Irawaddy); W. (Nerbudda, Taptee, and Loonee); E. (Godavery, Kistnah, Cauvery, and Mahanuddy); and in

* See p. 13 for origin of word: old geographers designate the country as India *within* (S.W. of), and *beyond* (S.E. of) the Ganges.

† The reader is requested to bear in mind through-

out this work, that round numbers are used to convey a general idea, easy to be remembered; they must be viewed as approximative, and not arithmetically precise. Indian statistics are still very imperfect.

other directions according to the course of the mountain-ranges and the dip of the land towards the ocean, by which the river system is created and defined.

Irrespective of the circumscribing barriers, and of the bones and arteries (hills and streams) which constitute the skeleton of Hindoostan, three features, distinctively delineated, deserve brief notice. The snowy ranges on the north give origin to two noble rivers, which, as they issue from the lesser Himalaya, are separated by a slightly elevated water-shed, and roll through widely diverging plains—the one in a south-easterly direction to the Bay of Bengal, the other south-westerly to the Arabian sea; each swollen by numerous confluent which, altogether, drain or irrigate an area equal to about half the superficies of India Proper. The Gangetic plain is 1,000, that of the Indus (including the Punjab), 800 miles in length; the average breadth of either, 300 miles; the greater part of both not 500 feet above the sea; the height nowhere exceeding 1,000 feet. Intermediate, and bifurcating the valleys of the main arteries, there is an irregular plateau, extending from north to south for 1,000, with a breadth varying from 300 to 500 miles, and a height ranging from 1,500 to 3,000 feet above the sea-level. Midway between Cape Comorin and Cashmere, this table-land is bisected from west to east, for 600 miles, by the narrow Nerbudda valley: the *northern* section, of an oblong shape, comprising Malwa, East Rajpootana, and Bundelcund, has for its south-eastern and north-western buttresses the Vindhya and Arravulli ranges, and a declination towards the Jumna and Dooab on the north-east, and to the Guzerat plain on the south-west: the *southern* section, constituting what is erroneously* termed the Peninsula, contains the Deccan, Mysoor, Berar, and adjoining districts; forms a right-angled triangle,† supported on the north by the Sautpoora mountains, and on either side by the Western and Eastern Ghauts and their prolongations; the declination is from the westward to the eastward, as shown by the courses of the Godavery and Kistnah.

These prominent physical characteristics

* There is no partial insulation—no isthmus.

† The northern and western sides are about 900 miles in length; the eastern 1,100.

‡ A full description of the geography of India would require a volume to itself; but the tabular views here given, and now for the first time prepared, will, with the aid of the maps, enable the reader to trace out the topography of the country.

may be thus recapitulated. 1st. The extensive mountain circumvallation, east to west, from the Irawaddy to the Indus. 2nd. The two great and nearly level plains of the Ganges and Indus. 3rd. The immense undulating plateau, of 1,000 miles long, in a straight line from the Jumna to the Cauvery. To these may be added a low coast-line of 4,500 miles, skirted on either side of the Bay of Bengal, and on the Malabar shore of the Indian Ocean, by receding *Ghauts* and other lofty ranges, backed by inland ridges of hills, and mountains traversing the land in diverse directions, such as the Vindhya, Sautpoora, and Arravulli. These salient features comprise many varieties of scenery; but for the most part wide-spread landscapes extend on the east,—teeming with animal and vegetable life; sandy wastes on the west, where the wild ass obtains scanty provender; on the north, an arctic region, whose snowy solitudes are relieved from perpetual stillness by volcanic fires bursting from ice-capt peaks; on the south, luxuriant valleys, verdant with perpetual summer; a rocky coast at Kattywar, swampy sunderbunds at Bengal, jungly ravines in Berar, and fertile plains in Tanjore;—*here* Nature in sternest aspect,—*there* in loveliest form,—*everywhere* some distinctive beauty or peculiar grandeur: while throughout the whole are scattered numerous cities and fortresses on river-bank or ocean-shore, adorned with Hindoo and Moslem architecture, cave temples of wondrous workmanship, idolatrous shrines, and Mohammedan mausoleums, wrought with untiring industry and singular artistic skill; cyclopean walls, tanks, and ruins of extraordinary extent, and of unknown origin and date; but whose rare beauty even the ruthless destroyer, Time, has not wholly obliterated. These and many other peculiarities contribute to render India a land of romantic interest, which it is quite beyond the assigned limits of this work to depict: all within its scope‡ being a brief exposition of the various mountain-ranges and passes, the plateaux, the river system, coast-line, islands, &c., with an enumeration of the principal cities and towns, which are more numerous and populous than those of continental Europe.§

§ Autumnal tourists, in search of health, pleasure, or excitement, and weary of the beaten paths of the Seine and Rhine, might readily perform, in six months (September to March), the overland route to and from India,—examine the leading features of this ancient and far-famed land, judge for themselves of its gorgeous beauty, and form some idea of the manners and customs of its vast and varied population.

Mountain Chains of India, their Extent, Position, Elevation, &c.

Name.	Extent and Position of Extremities.	Elevation above the Sea.	Remarks.
HIMALAYA, or "abode of Snow."	This stupendous mass extends in an irregular curve over 22° of lon., from the defile above Cashmere, where the Indus penetrates into the plains of the Punjab, lon. 73° 23', to the S. bend of the Sauron, lon. 95° 23'. It is 1,500 m. long, with an avg. breadth of 150 m.	1. Dairmal, 19,000 ft.; 2. Bal Tal, 19,650; 3. Ser and Mer, 20,000; 4. Hanle, 20,000; 5. Gya, 24,764; 6. Porgyal, 22,600; 7. Raldang, 20,103; 8. St. Patrick, 22,798; 9. St. George, 22,654; 10. The Pyramid, 21,579; 11. Gangotri, 22,906; 12. Jumnoutri, 21,159; 13. Kedarnath, 23,062; 14. Badrinath, 22,934; 15. Kamet, 25,550; 16. Nanda Devi, 25,749; 17. Gurla, 23,900; 18. Dhawalagiri, 27,600; 19. Gonsalthan, 24,740; 20. Junnoo, 25,311; 21. Kinchin-junga, 28,176; 22. Chomolomo, 19,000; 23. Kanchan Jhow, 22,000; 24. Chumalari, 23,929; 25. Three peaks on lower bank of Decmree, 21,000; 26. Kalas, 22,000. Average elevation, 18,000 to 20,000 ft.	Limit of perpetual snow, or congelation, on S. slope, 15,000 to 18,000 ft. Deep narrow valleys, separated by ranges running either parallel or at right angles with the main ridge, contain the numerous sources of the rivers flowing into the Ganges, the Indus, and the Brahmaputra.* The steep face is towards the plain, and to the N. the chain supports the lofty table-land of Tibet. The greater part of the giant peaks, which rise to an elevation of 25,000 or 28,000 ft., are situate not on the central axis, but to the south of it. Viewed from Patna, at a distance of about 150 miles, these mountains present a long line of about white pinnacles, which, on a nearer approach, are seen towering above the dark line of lower but still lofty mountains.† With the exception of a strip of land at the foot of the mountains, the whole of Bootan presents a succession of the most lofty and rugged mountains on the surface of the globe. It is a series of ridges, separated only by the narrow beds of roaring torrents.
HINDOO-KOOSH, ‡ Kouni'un, or Mooz Taugh.	About 850 m. long. From Kara-korum, lat. 35° lon. 77°; to Bamian, lat. 34° 50', lon. 67° 48'. ¶	1. Hindoo-Koosh, 35° 40', 68° 50', 21,000 ft.; §2. Summit N. of Jalalabad, 20,248; 3. Konshan Pass, 15,200; 4. Khawak Pass, 13,200; 5. Akrobat, 10,200 feet. Laram Mountains, 35° 20', 62° 54'; about 60 m. from N.E. to S.W., dividing the valley of Suwat from that of Panjkora; and Laspison Mountains, S. of, and subordinate to, Hindoo-Koosh, about 50 m. from E. to W., 36°, 70'—little known.	Limit of perpetual snow on S. slope (lat. 37°), 17,000 ft. The most remarkable feature of Hindoo-Koosh is, that to the S. it supports the plains of Kabool and Koh-Damaun, 6,000 to 7,000 ft.; while to the N. lies the low tract of Turkistan. Koondooz tow, distant in a direct line 80 m. N. of Hindoo-Koosh, only 900 ft. above the sea. The Hindoo-Koosh is a distinct mountain system, its parallelism being from S.W. to N.E., while that of the Himalaya is from S.E. to N.W. ** It is a vast rounded mass, the culminating ridge ascending in lofty peaks, covered with perpetual snow, stretching as far as the eye can reach—further to the W. it sinks into the mazy mountains forming the Huzarch highlands. Supposed to be the Parapamisus of the Greeks.
KOH-i-BABA	About 60 m.,—along lat. 34° 30', between lon. 67° 30' and 68° 30'. At the S.W. extremity of Hindoo-Koosh, with which it is connected by the transverse ridges of Kalboo and Hajeguk. Near Attock, lon. 72° 16' W. to lon. 69° 36', proceeding nearly along the parallel of lat. 33° 50'; then sinking into a maze of hills stretching to the Kohistan of Kabool.	Variously estimated. According to Burnes and Lady Sale, 18,000 ft.; Outram, 20,000 ft.; Humboldt, 2,800 toises, or 17,640 ft.; the most probable is 16,000 ft. Highest accessible point, 34° 40', 67° 30'; 13,200 ft. Hajeguk Pass, 11,700 ft.	
SUFIED-KOH, Shoory or White Mountains.		There are three ranges, running nearly parallel to the S. of the Kabool River; they rise in height as they recede from the river, the highest between 69° 40' and 70° 30', attaining an altitude of 14,000 ft.	Covered with perpetual snow. Generally of primary formation, consisting of granite, quartz, gneiss, mica-slate, and primary limestone. The Soorkh Rood, the Kara Su, and many other shallow but impetuous streams rush down its northern face, and are discharged into the Kabool river, which conveys their water to the Indus. The two lowest ranges are covered with pine forests; the highest and most distant has a very irregular outline, is steep and rocky, yet furrowed by many beautiful vales.††
PUGHMAN, or Pamghan Range.	Subordinate to Hindoo-Koosh, running along its S. base, generally from N.E. to S.W.	Estimated at 13,000 ft. Oona Pass, 34° 23', 68° 15'; 11,320 ft. Erak Summit, 31° 40', 68° 48'; 12,480 ft.	Always covered with snow. Its south-eastern brow overhangs the delightful region of Koh-Damaun and Kabool; its northern face forms the southern boundary of the Ghorbund valley.

EXTENT, POSITION, AND ELEVATION OF MOUNTAINS—INDIA. 467

KURKUTCHA MOUNTAINS.	Separate valley of Kabool from plain of Jelalabad; and connect Hindoo-Koosh with Sufted-Koh.	From 1,000 to 2,000 ft. above Kabool, and the highest part, 3½° 25', 69° 30'; 8,000 ft. above the sea.	Four routes over this range; practicable only for a man and horse at Latabund Pass, 4,000 British troops were destroyed in their retreat, in 1842. Cold intense in winter, the first splitting the rocks into huge shattered fragments. Appear at first irregularly grouped, but the distinct arrangement of a chain is afterwards observable. Four passes through this range. The hills generally consist of slate and primary limestone, with overlying sandstone.
KHYBER MOUNTAINS	Length, about 50 m.; breadth, about 20 m. Between 33° 30' and 34° 20', and 71° 10' and 71° 30'. They connect Hindoo-Koosh with Sufted-Koh.	Tatara summit, highest point, 4,800 ft. Summit of Khyber Pass, 3,375 ft.	
GOOLKROO MOUNTAINS	Lat. 32° 22', lon. 67° 50'; 30 m. S.W. from Ghaznee.	Estimated at 13,000 ft.	
AMKAN MOUNTAINS	Lat. 30° 50', lon. 66° 30'.	General elevation, about 8,000 ft. Highest part, 30° 50', 66° 30'; about 9,000 ft. Kojuck Pass, 7,457 ft.	Bounds the table-lands of Shawl and Pisheen on the W., as the Hala range does to the E.
TOBA MOUNTAINS	Length, 150m. Between 30° 40' & 32° 40', and 66° 40' and 68° 20'; extending N.E. from the N. side of Pisheen valley.	Hill, 30° 20', 66° 55'; 11,500 ft. Taktatoo	Country, though generally rugged, fertile.
PUEB MOUNTAINS	Length, about 90 m. From C. Monze to lat. 26°.	Supposed to equal those of W. Scinde, viz., 2,000 ft. Highest part, about 25° 30'.	In 25° 3', 66° 50', they are crossed by the Guneloba Pass, described as stony, and of easy ascent and descent.
SCINDE RANGES, viz.— I. JUTTEEL.	60 to 70 m. S.W. from Schwan to Dooba. Between 25° 32', 26° 20', and 67° 48', 68° 8'. Parallel with the Jutcel, more to the W., between 25° 50', 26° 40', and about 67° 40'.	Steep—in few places less than 2,000 ft.	The road from Schwan to Kuruchee lies between them, and Keertar more to the W.
II. KEERTAR	Length, about 50 m. From Jutcel, S.E. towards Hyderabad. Centre of range, 26°, 67° 50'.	Average height, probably below 2,000 ft.	Imperfectly explored.
III. LUKKEE	Length, about 400 m. From Tukatoe to Arabian Gulf, forming the E. wall of Beloochistan table-land.	Highest part, 1,500 to 2,000 ft. Between Lankce and Schwan, the mountains have a nearly perpendicular face, towards the Indus, above 600 ft. high.	They are of recent formation, containing a vast profusion of marine exuvie. Huge fissures traverse this range, and hot springs and sulphureous exhalations are of frequent occurrence.
HALA, Brahoovick, or Bolan Range.	Length, about 350 m. From 33° 40', they run nearly S. in the 70th merid. of lon., to the mountains about Hurund and Kahun, in lat. 29°.	Average height, 5,000 to 6,000 ft. Kurklekee Mountains, that part which borders on the Bolan Pass, from 29° 20' to 30° 10', 67° to 67° 30', where the crest of Bolan Pass intersects them, 5,793 ft.	The range is crossed by the Bolan Pass, through which the route lies from Shikarpoor to Kandahar and Ghaznee, which though very important in a military point of view, is inferior in commercial interest to the Goolaire, farther N. E. face dips rather steeply to the Indus, but the W. declivity much more gradual, to the table-land of Sewestan. Sides of mountains clothed nearly to the summits with dense forests; valleys overgrown with a variety of indigenous trees, shrubs, and flowers.
SULIMAN RANGE	Stretch from the E. base of Suliman Mountains to Jhelum River, N.E. to S.W., in lon. 32° 30' to 33° 30'.	Highest elevation, 2,500 ft.	Vegetation scanty, and the bold and bare precipices present a forbidding aspect. About 32° 50', 71° 40', the Indus makes its way down a narrow rocky channel, 350 yards broad; and the mountains have an abrupt descent to the river.
KALA, or Salt Range	Length, 155 m., greatest breadth, 10 m. From Hurdwar to Roopur, S.E. to N.W.	From 3,000 to 3,500 ft.; highest part, 30° 17', 77° 50', between the Timli and Lal Derwaza Passes.	In many places each hill might be represented by a right-angled triangle, the base resting on the pass, perpendicular facing towards the plains; hypotheneuse sloping towards the Dhoons, in the opposite direction.
SEWALIK RANGE	500 m., breadth from 90 to 150 m. From Kumaon to Sikkim.	Diversified by several inhabited valleys, from 3,000 to 6,000 ft. above the plains of Bengal. The hills rise towards the culminating ridge of the Himalayas. Kamandoo, 4,628 ft. above sea, in a valley surrounded by stupendous mountains.†† Bynturee, 29° 35', 79° 20'; 5,615 ft.	Hills consist of limestone, hornstone, and conglomerate. Notwithstanding its low latitude, Nepal, from its elevation, enjoys a climate resembling that of S. Europe. Snow lies on the mountain-chain which surrounds the capital, in winter, and occasionally falls in the valley. The whole is well-watered.
NEPAUL MOUNTAINS, AND TABLE-LAND.			

Name.	Extent and Position of Extremities.	Elevation above the Sea.	Remarks.
ARAVULLI RANGE . . .	Length, 200 m.; average breadth, 10 to 15 m. Extend from 22° 40' to 26° 50', and from lon. 74° to 75°.	Average 3,000 ft. Highest elevation, Mt. Aboo, 5,000 ft. Crest of Koulmar Pass, 3,353 ft. Twelve m. from Beawri; country one mass of hills, intersected by small vales.	Forms the western buttress of the plateau of Central India. The mountains at Pokur are of a rose-coloured quartz, displaying bold pinnacles and abrupt rocky sides. The geological formation of Mt. Aboo is granitic.
KATTYWAR MOUNTAINS . . .	The peninsula lies between 20° 42', 23° 10', 69° 5', 72° 14'; area 19,850 sq. m.	The Gir, a succession of ridges and hills, some 1,000 ft.; elevation diminishing towards N. Girnar a granitic peak, 3,500 ft. Palithana Mt., 1,500 ft. Group near Poor-bunder, 2,000 ft. Low ridge running from Chotryla to Gir, 400 ft. The centre of peninsula is the highest, and here all the rivers take their rise.	Caverns, deep ravines, and other fastnesses, very numerous in the Gir. The base of Girnar Mt. is clothed with jungle, diversified with black rocks, which appear through the vegetation. After this, the mount rises an immense bare and isolated granite rock, the face being quite black, with white streaks; and the N. and S. sides nearly perpendicular scarps.
VINDHYA CHAIN.	From Guzerat on the W. to the basin of the Ganges on the E.; and comprised between the 22nd and 25th parallels of latitude.	Avg. height 1,500 to 2,000 ft. Champaneer, 22° 31', 73° 41'; 2,500 ft. Crest of Jam Ghaut, 2,300 ft. Mountain in Bhopal, 2,500 ft. Mahadeo Mountains, between 21° 30' 22' 40', 78° 80'; Doulagheree, said to be the highest; An-barmarph, estimated at 2,500 ft. Chindwara, 2,100 ft.; and Patehmarce, vaguely stated to be 5,000 ft.; but this is probably an exaggeration; Dokgur, stated to be 4,800 ft.; Putta Sunka, and Choura Doo, the highest, conjectured at 5,000 ft. Amarkantak, a jungle table-land, computed to be 3,463 ft. Leela, a summit in Lanjhee hills, 21° 55', 80° 25', 2,300 ft.; another of the same hills, in 21° 40', 80° 35', 2,400 ft. None more than 2,000 ft. Average between the Tara and Kuttra passes, about 520 ft. The Tons falls over the brow by a cascade of 200 ft.; Bilohi, 398 ft.; and Bouti, 400 ft.	The chain forms the southern buttress of the plateau of Malwa, Bhopal, &c. In the Sangor and Nerbudda territories, its crest is but the brow of this table-land; but in the western part, it rises a few hundred feet above the high land on its northern side. The passes that have been made over this range, are, for the most part, bad. The geological formations are the granitic and the sandstone, overlaid by trap rock.
BUNDELCUND RANGES, THREE, VIZ.— I. BINDYACHAL	Commence near Seundah, lat. 26° 14', lon. 78° 50'; proceeds S.W. to Narwar, 25° 39', 77° 52'; S.E. to 24° 12'; N.E. to Ajgarh, 24° 53', 80° 20'; and Kalicenjur, in the same vicinity, and E. to Barghar, 25° 10', 81° 35'. Rises S. of the Bindyachal plateau.	Average elevation between Kuttra Pass and Lohargaon, 1,050 ft. Elevation between Lohargaon and the foot of the hills near Patteriya, about 1,200 ft.	The lower parts are primary, overlaid by sandstone, in many places trap, or other formations of volcanic origin. The plateau, which surmounts the range, is from 10 to 12 m. wide.
III. BANDAIR	Separated from the Panna range by the valley of Lohargaon, rising from a plateau from 10 to 20 m. wide. Rise about 20 m. S. of the Ganges; stretch S. and S.W. to the Vindhya range and the highlands of the Deccan. They terminate at the pass of Sikrigali.	Average elevation, 1,700; on some of its undulations, amounting to 2,000 ft.	Summit an undulating platform, about ten miles wide. Where deep ravines allow examination, an enormously thick bed of sandstone is found with primary rock superincumbent, itself overlaid by volcanic rocks. Generally of sandstone, intermixed with ferruginous gravel. The basin of Lohargaon is of lias limestone. The outer limit of this hilly tract is marked by abrupt isolated hills.
RAJWAHAL HILLS		Of moderate elevation. Cluster on the W. of the Phalgur, one on the E. of that river, a third near Shukpoora; 700 ft. Hills towards the S. probably twice that elevation. Railway sweeps round the eastern extremity of the range.	In the E. the rock is of trap; in one place there is a conical hill, having at the top a cavity resembling the crater of an extinct volcano. A neighbouring hill sends forth smoke, luminous at night. In the W. and S.W. the rock is of quartz, or coarse jasper and flint, containing ore of iron and lead.
SIHOOGAH MOUNTAINS	Length, 90 m.; breadth, 85 m. Lie between 22° 34', 23° 54', 82° 40', 84° 6'.	Rugged and mountainous, from 500 to 600 ft. above adjoining table-land of Chota Nagpore.	Drained by the rivers Kunher and Rherm, with its feeder the Mohan, flowing in a direction generally northerly. These rivers are mostly shallow, except during the rains, when they become rapid torrents.

PACHETE HILLS	Length, 105 m.; breadth, 95 m. Lie between 22° 56', 23° 54', 85° 46', 87° 10'.	Imperfectly known. N. part described as marked by hills from 400 to 600 ft. About 23° 35', 85° 50', a mountain conjectured at from 2,500 to 3,000 ft. Near the centre of dist. some hills about 900 ft.	Formation generally primitive, of either granite, gneiss, or sienite. Coal has been found near Jeria, 23° 44', 86° 25'; and iron-ore exists at a short distance. The chain unites the N. extremities of the W. and E. Ghauts, and forms the base of the triangle on which rests the table-land of S. India. By the Moghuls the country to the N. was called Hindoostan, and that to the S. the Deccan.
SAUTPOORA MOUNTAINS	Divides the Nerbudda from the Taptee valleys, extending from 21° and 22°, and 73° 40', to 78°, when it becomes confounded with the Vindhya.	Avg. elevation, supposed, 2,500 ft. Asseerghur hill-fort, 1,200 ft. They form the northern base of the Deccanic table-land.	S. declivity towards Taptee abrupt; N. towards Nerbudda, gentle. They rise into peaks, or swell into forms denoting a primitive origin. They are volcanic.
WESTERN GHATS, called by the natives <i>Syandree</i> in its N. part; and <i>Sukhetit</i> in its S. part;—MALABAR COAST.	Length, about 800 m. From about 21° 15', to 73° 45', 74° 40', where they terminate almost precipitously, forming the N. side of the Gap of Palgatcheri.	Avg. height, 4,000 ft. About 21°; 2,000 ft. Mahabulishwar, 18° 73' 40'; 4,700 ft. Poornidhar, 4,472 ft. Singhar, 4,162 ft. Hurrechundurghur, 3,894 ft. About 15°; 1,000 ft. Towards Coorg: Bonasson Hill, 7,000 ft. Tandianmole, 5,781 ft. Papugiri, 5,682 ft.	Seaward face though abrupt, not precipitous, but consists of a series of terraces or steps. Chasms or breaks in the range, give access to the highlands, and are denominated <i>ghauts</i> or passes, a name which has become generally applied to the range itself. The core is primary, inclosed by alternating strata of more recent origin. Scenery delightful and grand, displaying stupendous scarps, fearful chasms, numerous waterfalls, dense forests, and perennial verdure.
NEILGHERY GROUP	Length, about 50 m.; breadth, about 20 m.; area from 600 to 700 sq. m. Between 11° 10' and 11° 35', and 76° 30' and 77° 10'.	Elevation from 5,000 to 8,000 ft. Dodabetta, 8,760 ft. Kundiakad, 8,302 ft. Kundab, 8,353 ft. Duvursolabeta, 8,380 ft. Beroiyabeta, 8,488 ft. Markurti, 8,402 ft. Ootacamund, lat. 10° 50'; 7,361 ft. General surface, an undulating table-land.	The foundation rocks are primary. Principal mineral,—iron-ore. Neither calcareous nor stratified rocks, nor organic remains are found. So steep are the precipices, that in many parts, a stone dropped from the edge, will fall several thousand feet without striking anything. Neilgherries from "neil," blue, and "gherries," hills; blue hills. The W. brow is, with little exception, abrupt; on the E. side the declivity is gradual. Such a conformation would seem to indicate a volcanic disturbance along the W. precipitous face.
PALGHAT GHATS	Length, about 200 m. From the Gap of Palgatcheri nearly to C. Comorin.	Elevation from 4,000 to 7,000 ft. A spacious table-land, 4,740 ft. A peaked summit, 6,000 ft. Another, 7,000 ft. Vurragherries ns., 5,000 to 6,000 ft. Near C. Comorin, in the extreme S., 2,000 ft. Several, not measured.	Granite constitutes the basis of the range; and clay, hornblende, finty and primitive slate, or crystalline limestone, forms the sides of the mountains; and the level country, as far N. as the Pennar, appears to consist of the debris, when the laterite formation covers a large surface. From the Kistmah, northward, the granite is often penetrated by trap and greenstone. To Vizagapatam and Ganjam sienite and gneiss predominate, occasionally covered by laterite.
EASTERN GHATS, along COROMANDEL COAST.	Length, about 1,000 m. From Balasore, S.W. to Ganjam; thence to Naggerly, near Madras; where it joins the range which crosses the country in a north-easterly direction, from the W. Ghauts, N. of the Gap of Palgatcheri.	Average elevation, about 1,500 ft. Cauvery Chain, 4,000 ft. Condapilly, 1,700 ft. W. of Madras, estimated, 3,000 ft. Hills seen from the Moghalbundi, between Pt. Palmyras and Chilka Lake, appearing in irregular scattered groups, 300 to 1,200 ft.	The country is a wild unexplored tract. The measures adopted by the British government to restrain the outrages committed by the Nagas within British territory, have led to their submission.
ASSAM MOUNTAINS, viz.—I. NAGA HILLS.	Length, about 250 m. On the S.E. border of Assam, stretches to the mountain-range forming the N.W. boundary of Burmah. Centre, about 26° 30' lon. 95°.	In the Khaibund range, supposed 4,000 ft. Some peaks are almost inaccessible.	The face of Assam presents an immense plain, studded with clumps of hills, rising abruptly from the general level. The mountains on the N. are composed generally of primitive rocks. Those to the S. of tertiary and metamorphic.
II. DUPHALA, AND ABOR HILLS.	Mountains N. of Assam, inhabited by Bhootens, Dn-phala, and Abor tribes.	From 5,000 to 6,000 ft. above the surrounding level.	Character of country, wild. The rock formation is supposed to be chiefly of gneiss, or stratified granite.
III. GARROW HILLS	On the N.E. frontier of Bengal	A confused assemblage, from 1,000 to 6,000 ft. Estimated area, 4,347 sq. m.	
IV. COSSYAH HILLS	Estimated area, 7,240 sq. m. Between 25° & 26°, and 91° & 92°.	Chirra Poonjee, 4,100 ft.	

470 EXTENT, POSITION, AND ELEVATION OF MOUNTAINS—INDIA.

Name.	Extent and Position of Extremities.	Elevation above the Sea.	Remarks.
V. JYNTEAH HILLS . . .	80 m. in length from N. to S., and 40 in breadth. Extends from lat. 24° 55', to 26° 7', and from lon 91° 35', to 92° 48'.	About 16 m. on the Silhet side, and about the same on that of Assam, consists of low land interspersed with small hills. In the interior, about 50 m. in extent, is an undulating hilly table-land, from 1,500 to 2,500 feet high.	Coal is said to abound in the hills of Jynteah.
YOUNADOUNO, or Arracan Mountains	Length, about 600 m. From Muncepoor, lat. 22° 20', to C. Negrais, lat. 16°.	Average height 3,000 to 5,000 ft. Blue Mountain, 22° 37', 93° 11', 8,000 ft. Pyramid Hill, 3,000 ft. Crest of Aeng Pass, 4,517 ft. Pass from Pedanguew to Ramree, 4,000 ft. From Bine Mountain there is a gradual slope to C. Negrais, where it is only about 300 ft.	It is a continuation of the great mountain chain commencing at the S. of Assam, in 26° 30'; and extends S., running parallel with the river Irawaddy, and forms a natural barrier between Arracan and Ava.
BURMAH MOUNTAINS . . .	Little known	From Promie to Ava, characterised by unevenness and general elevation. Northerly, it is decidedly mountainous. Mountains 4 m. N. of Ava, 4,000 ft. Zingait Mts., forming a kind of elevated doab between the Saluen and Sit-tang rivers.	Gold, silver, iron, tin, lead, antimony, and other metals, are met with. Quarries of marble are worked near Ummerapoora. Coal has been discovered on the Irawaddy.
TENASSERIM MOUNTAINS . .	Length, about 500 m., breadth nowhere exceeds 80 m. Area, 30,000 sq. m.	Siamese Mts., running N. to S. along Tenasserim provinces, 3,000 to 5,000 ft. Mountains in Ye province, three parallel ridges, from 3,000 to 4,500 ft., gradually diminishing towards the coast, about 500 ft. Buffalo Mts., about 70 m. from Moulmein, 1,543 ft.	Coal of excellent quality has been discovered. Iron, tin, and gold are frequently met with.

* The two sections of the Himalaya furnish points of resemblance, in presenting almost insurmountable obstacles to communication between the countries which they divide, thereby separating the Botis or people of Tibet from the Hindoo family of India. Major Cunningham considers the distinction of climate not less positively marked, both ranges forming the analogy, moreover, may be traced between the cold and dry climate of Tibet, with its dearth of trees, and the warm and humid climate of India, with its luxuriance of vegetable productions. Some other intervening between the Indus, flowing at its northern base, and the subsequent tributaries of that river rising on its southern slope.

† Any view of the Himalaya, especially at a sufficient distance for the snowy peaks to be seen overtopping the outer ridges, is very rare, from the constant deposition of vapours over the forest-clad ranges during a greater part of the year, and the haziness of the dry atmosphere of the plains in the winter months. At the end of the rains, when the south-east monsoon has ceased to blow with constancy, views are obtained, sometimes from a distance of nearly 200 miles.

‡ It has often been observed, the Koli Kosh, or mountain of Kosh, offers a plausible etymology for the Caucasus (the Caucasus of the classical writers. It is supposed by Ritter and Wilford to be that mentioned by Pliny, under the name of *Grævacæus*, but slightly deviating from the Sanscrit *Grævakæus* (shining rock).

§ Remarkable for its mass and elevation. Viewed from the Konshan Pass, distant ten miles south, its appearance is very sublime. The outline is serrated, it being crowned by a succession of lofty peaks, with sides often perpendicular, and it is wrapped in a perpetual covering of snow, in all parts not too steep to admit its lying.

¶ All the series appear to diverge from the apex of the plain, expanding "like the sticks of a fan," Humboldt regards it as the "most striking phenomenon amongst all the mountain-ranges of the old world." He considers that it may be traced from Taurus, in Asia Minor, across Persia, then, in the Huzarah mountains, to Hindoo-Kosh, and to the frontier of China; and that it is distinct from the Himalaya. The two ranges are physically discriminated by the depression down which the Indus flows, which, with its numerous irregularities, it is not easy to believe could have been hollowed out by the water's force even of that great river

** "The elevated expanse of Pamcer," to the north of Hindoo-Kosh, observes Humboldt, "is not only a radiating point in the hydrographical system of Central Asia, but is the focus from which originate its principal mountain chains, being common to India, China, and Turkestan; and from it, as from a central point, their several streams diverge."

†† The country between Suited-Koh and Hindoo-Kosh is hilly; breadth about twenty m. It is divided into a series of plains by cross ranges (Khyber, Kurkatcha, &c.), which has to make its way by narrow passages

‡‡ Valley of Catmandoo, nearly of oval shape: length, N. to S., 12 m.; E. to W. about 10 m. Bounded on the N. and S. by stupendous mountains. To the E. and W. by others less lofty, the western end defined principally by a low steep ridge, called Nagar-Arjoon, which passes close behind Sumbhoon-Nath, and is backed by a more considerable one named Shoochouk. To the eastward, the most remarkable hills are those of Ranichouk and Mahabut, but they do not reach the elevation of Phalehouk (the highest on the south), or of Shoochouk, which is by far the highest mountain. The bottom of the valley is uneven, intersected by deep ravines, and dotted throughout with little hills.

§§ The number of peaks which crown this mountain is variously stated. According to Tod, there are six, the most elevated of which is that of Gornekuath, having on its summit an area of only ten feet in diameter, and surrounded by a shrine dedicated to Gornekuath; each of the other peaks has its shrine. On a small table-land on the mountain, about 600 feet below its summit is the ancient palace of Khengar, and numerous Jain temples.

||| Ascent from Indore (1,998 feet), gradual; descent, to the Nerbudda, steep and abrupt.

Mountain Passes on the Indian Frontiers, from the Indus to the Iravaddy—so far as known.

Name and Position.	Lat. and Lon. of Extremities; Length and Breadth.	Heights, in Feet.	Remarks.
MOOLA or GUNDAVA—CUTCH GUNDAVA.	Lat. 28° 10', lon. 66° 12'; lat. 29° 24', lon. 67° 27'—About 100 m. Open spaces, connected by defiles.	Bapoor, 5,250 ft.; Pessee Bhent, 4,600; Nurd, 2,850; Bont-i-Jah, 1,850; Kullar, 700 ft.	Descent, 4,650 ft., average 46 ft. per m. Water abundant. Practicable for artillery.*
BOLAN—BELOOCHISTAN.	Lat. 29° 30', lon. 67° 40'; lat. 29° 52', lon. 67° 4'.—55 m.; $\frac{1}{2}$ m. wide at entrance.	Entrance, 800 ft.; Ab-i-goom, 2,540; crest, 5,793 ft.	Average ascent, 90 ft. per m.† Ditto.
GOMUL or GOOLAIREE—DE-RAJAT.	Lat. 32°, lon. 70° 30'.—About 100 m.	20 m. from entrance road N.W., then 80 m. S.W., then N.W. to Ghuznee.	Winding course.‡
KHYBER—PESHAWUR.	Lat. 33° 58', lon. 71° 30'.—About 33 m.	Crest, 3,373 ft. Ali Musjid, 2,433 ft.	Rises gradually from the E., but has a steep declivity westward.§
BAMIAN—AFGHANISTAN.	Lat. 34° 50', lon. 67° 48'.—About 1 m. wide, bounded by nearly perpendicular steep.	Bamian, 8,496 ft., over a succession of ridges from 8,000 to 15,000 ft.	Only known route over Hindoo-Koosh for artillery or wheeled carriages.
KOUSHAN—HINDOO-KOOSH.	Lat. 35° 37', lon. 68° 55'.—over principal shoulder of Hindoo-Koosh peak—About 40 m.; narrow.	Crest, 15,000 ft.	Road rocky and uneven; descent, 200 ft. per m. Three entrances.¶
KHAWAK—HINDOO-KOOSH.	Lat. 35° 38', lon. 70°—About 15 m.	Crest, 13,200 ft.	Ascent on N. side, an uniformly inclined plane.**
BUL TUL or SHURU-JE-LA—CASHMERE.	Lat. 34° 10', lon. 75° 15'.	Crest, 10,500 ft.	Only pass into Cashmere practicable for an army.
BARAMULA—CASHMERE.	Lat. 34° 10', lon. 74° 30'.		
PARA LACHA—TIBET.	Lat. 32° 44', lon. 77° 31'.		
ROTANG—HIMALAYA.	Lat. 32° 25', lon. 77° 12'.		
MANERUNG—HIMALAYA.	Lat. 31° 56', lon. 78° 24'.		
CHAREUNG—HIMALAYA.	Lat. 31° 24', lon. 78° 35'.		
BURENDA—HIMALAYA.	Lat. 31° 25', lon. 78° 12'.—Length of crest, 50 paces.		
BULCHA—KUMAON.	Lat. 30° 58', lon. 80° 14'.		
NITI—KUMAON.	Lat. 30° 57', lon. 79° 54'.		
KAMBACHEN—NEPAUL.	Lat. 27° 38', lon. 88°.		
CHOONJERMA—NEPAUL.	Lat. 27° 33', lon. 88° 1'.		
WALLANCHOON—NEPAUL.	Lat. 27° 52', lon. 87° 14'.		
TUNKRA—SIKIM.	Lat. 27° 38', lon. 88° 56'.		
DONKIA—SIKIM.	Lat. 27° 56', lon. 88° 48'.		
AENG—ARRACAN.	Lat. 19° 49', lon. 91° 9'.—34 miles.		
MYHEE—ARRACAN.	Lat. 19° 14', lon. 91° 30'.		

* In 1839, the Anglo-Indian detachment marched through it. It is preferable to the Bolan Pass in a military point of view.

† A continuous succession of ravines and gorges. The air in the lower part of the pass is in summer oppressively hot and unhealthy.

‡ Of great commercial importance. Every spring, large caravans traverse it from Hindoostan to Afghanistan.

§ Called the Key of Afghanistan. At Ali-Musjid, merely the bed of a rivulet, with precipices rising on each side at an angle of 70°. Near Lomdee Khana, a gallery 12 ft. wide; on one side a perpendicular wall, and on the other a deep precipice. It was twice forced by the British.

|| The great commercial route from Kabul to Turkestan; the several passes to the eastward are less frequented on account of their difficulty and their elevation.

** Most frequented east of Bamian; impassable for wheeled carriages.

†† Scarcely frequented, yet may be considered the most practicable.

‡‡ Passes over the Outer Himalaya range.—Suella, 31° 13' lon., 78° 09' lon.—elevation, 16,000 ft.; Kintila, 31° 15', 78° 25', 17,000; Siaga, 31° 16', 78° 20', 16,000; Marga, 31° 16', 78° 21', 16,000; Lumbia, 31° 16', 78° 20', 16,000; Barga, 31° 16', 78° 19', 15,000; Nulann, 31° 19', 78° 13', 14,891; Rupun, 31° 21', 78° 10', 15,480; Ghushul, 31° 21', 78° 8', 15,851; Nibrun, 31° 22', 78° 10', 16,035; Gunas, 31° 21', 78° 8', 16,020; Ynsn, 31° 24', 78° 2', 16,000; Shatul, 31° 25' lon., 77° 58' lon., 15,555 ft. In Koonawar there are fifteen passes, at elevations varying from 15,000 to 17,000 ft.

§§ Considered the best pass between Kumaon and Tibet, and is one of the principal channels of trade between Chinese Tartary and Hindoostan.

||| Ascended by Dr. Hooker, December, 1848. The distance to which the voice was carried was very remarkable; he could hear distinctly every word spoken at from 300 to 400 yards off.

|||| Considerable trade carried on over this pass between Ava and Arracan.

7. KISTNAH, or KRISHNA	The Kistnah, in consequence of the rapid declivity of its waterway and rockiness of its channel, cannot be navigated by small craft, even for short distances. An extensive system of irrigation, in connection with this river, is now in progress, and has been estimated to cost £150,000.	The river, notwithstanding the great width of its bed in some parts of its upper course, appears to be scarcely anywhere continuously navigable for any considerable distance, in consequence of the innumerable basaltic rocks scattered over its channel.	Bed full of micaceous quartzose rock; banks low, and little above the surrounding level.	The surface of Kattywar peninsula is generally undulating, with low ridges of hills, running in irregular directions. The land in the mid- dlemost part is the highest, and here all the rivers take their rise, disembodying themselves respectively into the Runn and Gulf of Cutch, and Gulf of Cambay.	It can scarcely be deemed a navigable stream, as at Surat, 17 m. from its mouth, it is fordable when the tide is out. It is said to be navigable in the dry season for boats of light draught, through Candesh. The mouth is obstructed by numerous sands and a bar. Navigable for 15 m. from its mouth. At 50 m. up, 100 yds. wide; bed, 400 yds.; depth, 1 ft.	Though rugged, the Concaens have many fertile valleys, each of which, for the most part, affords a passage for a small river or torrent, holding a westerly course from the Ghauts to Indian Ocean. The most fertile spots are on the banks of streams. The rivers abound with fish, but are also frequented by alligators. The Savitree is navigable as far as Mhar, 30 m. from its mouth.
8. NEEBUDDA	Mahabulishwar table-land, Deccan, lat. 18° 1', lon. 73° 41'; 4,500 ft. above the sea. S.E., 145 m.; N.E., 60 m.; S.E., 105 m.; N.E., 180 m.; S.E. to Chentapilly; S.E., 70 m. further; then, parting into two arms, one flowing S.E. 30 m., the other S. 25 m., into Bay of Bengal. —Length, 800 m.	Beemah, 510; Toongabudra, 325; Gutpurba, 160; Mulpurba, 160; Warna, 80; Dindec, 110; Peedda Wag, 70 m.—110,000 sq. m. drained.	Herrun; Samaree, 60; Suktha, 70 m.—About 60,000 sq. m. drained.	Rairce, 88; Sokree, 130 m.—About 19,000 sq. m. drained.	Poorna, 160; Girna, 160; Boree, 90; Panjar, 92 m.—About 25,000 sq. m. drained.	Amass, 90; Manchva, 55 m.
9. LOONEE	Arravulli Mts., near Pokur, lat. 20° 37', lon. 74° 46'. S.W., nearly parallel with Arravulli range, into Runn of Cutch, by two mouths, principal in lat. 24° 42', lon. 71° 11'. —Length, 320 m.	About 17,000 sq. m. drained.				
10. BUNNAS	In a cluster of summits in the Arravulli range, lat. 24° 47', lon. 73° 28'. S.W., into Runn of Cutch, by several small channels.—Length, 180 m.					
11. BHADER	Kattywar, lat. 22° 10', lon. 71° 18'. S.W., into Indian Ocean, near Poorbunder, lat. 21° 38', lon. 69° 46'. —Length, 135 m.					
12. OOLAL	Kattywar, lat. 21° 31', lon. 70° 50'. Circuitous, but generally W., into backwater, behind Poorbunder.—Length, 75 m.					
13. AJEE	Kattywar, lat. 22° 10', lon. 76° 31'. N.W., into Gulf of Cutch.—Length, 60 m.					
14. SETROONJEE	Kattywar, lat. 21° 15', lon. 70° 25'. E., into Gulf of Cambay.—Length, 60 m.					
15. GEYLA	Kattywar, lat. 22° 3', lon. 71° 20'. E., into Gulf of Cambay.—Length, 60 m.					
16. GOONA	Kattywar, lat. 22° 18', lon. 71° 30'. E., into Gulf of Cambay.—Length, 88 m.					
17. TAPTEE	Satpoora Mts., near Mooltae, lat. 21° 46', lon. 78° 21'. Generally W., to Gulf of Cambay.—Length, 441 m.					
18. NYHE, or MAEE	Vindhya Mts., lat. 22° 32', lon. 75° 5'; 1,850 ft. above the sea. N.W., 145 m.; W. 25 m.; S.W., 180 m., into Gulf of Cambay.—Length, 350 m.					
19. WASHISHTEE	W. Ghauts, lat. 17° 30', lon. 73° 36'. S.—W.—S.E.—W., into Indian Ocean.—Length 55 m.					
20. SAVITREE	W. Ghauts, lat. 18° 17', lon. 73° 27'. S.E.—W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 70 m.					
21. TAVNSA	W. Ghauts, lat. 19° 41', lon. 73° 29'. S.W.—W.—S.W.—W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 88 m.					
22. SOORLA	W. Ghauts, lat. 19° 54', lon. 73° 24'. W.—S., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 68 m.					
23. DANOUNGA	W. Ghauts, lat. 20° 11', lon. 73° 42'. W.—N.—W.N.W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 58 m.					
24. PAR	W. Ghauts, lat. 20° 30', lon. 73° 43'. W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 50 m.					

Western side of India.

No tributaries of note; area drained small, and imperfectly defined.

474 RIVERS OF INDIA—SOURCE, COURSE, DISCHARGE, AND LENGTH.

Name.	Source, Course, Discharge, and Length.	Tributaries, and their Length in British Miles; and Area drained.	Remarks.
25. EEB	W. Ghauts, lat 20° 50', lon. 73° 42'. W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 70 m.	No tributaries of any extent; and area drained imperfectly.	Nothing worthy note.
26. POORNA	W. Ghauts, lat. 20° 59', lon. 73° 44'. W., into the Indian Ocean.—Length, 60 m.		
27. GUNGAVALLY	Plain of Dharwar, lat. 15° 45', lon. 75° 10'. S.—S.W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 100 m.		
28. CAULY NUDDEE	Plain of Dharwar, lat. 15° 33', lon. 74° 47'. S., 61 m.; W., 30 m., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 91 m.		
29. PONANY	Coimbatore, lat. 10° 19', lon. 77° 6'. N.W.—W., into Indian Ocean.—Length, 128 m.	Navigated by the largest patimars for 20 m. From Mullapoor to Sheddahgur, rendered easy by uniformity of channel. Navigable for canoes as far as Palghat, 63 m. from the sea. The large anicuts upon it are Conoor, diverting a stream of same name, Paree Anai, & Chittanaik.
30. VYGAH	Madura, lat. 10° 17', lon. 77° 37'. S.E., into Bay of Bengal.—Length, 130 m.		
31. VELLAUR	Base of E. Ghauts, lat. 10° 28', lon. 78° 21'. E., into Gulf of Manar.—Length, 80 m.		
32. GOONDAH	Vellandthe hills, Madura. S.E., into Gulf of Manar.—Length, 95 m.		
33. CAUVERY	Coorg, lat 12° 25', lon. 75° 34'. E., 33 m.; N.E., 28 m.; S.E., 95 m.; N.E.—S.E., 47 m.; S., 47 m.; S.E.—E.—N.E., into Bay of Bengal. Length, 472 m.	Magnummurchy, 40; Bhovani, 120; Noyel, 95 m.; Hennavutti; Leechman-Teert; Cub-bany; Shimskia; Arkavati; Ambrawutti.—About 36,000 sq. m. drained.	Navigable for craft through the low country during the inundation. Gungan Zooka fall, 370 ft. Burr Zooka, 460 ft.
34. VELLAUR	Base of E. Ghauts. E., into Bay of Bengal, near Porto Novo.		
35. PALAR	Mysoor table-land, lat. 13° 20', lon. 78° 2'. S.E., 55 m.; E., 87 m.; S.E., 48 m., into Bay of Bengal.—Length, about 220 m.		
36. SOORNAMOOKY	Mysoor table-land, lat. 13° 28', lon. 79° 11'. N.E., to Bay of Bengal.—Length, 99 m.		
37. PENNAR—(N.)	Nundiroog table-land, lat. 13° 23', lon. 77° 43'. N.W., 30 m.; N., 95 m.; E., 230 m., into Bay of Bengal.—Length, 355 m.	Pony, 40; Sheyaroo, 90 m. Chitravutti, 107; Paupugnee, 130; Chittair, 75 m.	The river is small at its mouth, and admits only coasting craft. The entrance of the Palar, near Sadras, is contracted by a bar or narrow ridge of sand, inside of which the river becomes of considerable width.
38. PENNAR—(S.)	N. of Nundiroog table-land, lat. 13° 32', lon. 77° 45'. S., to Mootanahli, 55 m.; S.E., 190 m., into Bay of Bengal, a mile N. of Pt. St. David.—Length, 245 m.		
39. GUNDLACAMA	Lat. 15° 40', lon. 78° 49'. Very circuitous; E.—N.E.—S.S.E.—S.E., into Bay of Nizampatnam.—Length, 155 m.		
40. BONSDORA	Table-land of Orissa, lat. 19° 39', lon. 83° 27'. S., into Bay of Bengal.—Length, 130 m.		
41. LALGLAH	Table-land of Orissa, near source of Bondadura. S., into Bay of Bengal.—Length, 133 m.	Hutsoo, 130; Aurrag, 117; Tell, 130; Bang Nuddee, 60 m.—About 46,000 sq. n. drained.	From July to February, navigable for boats for 460 m.
42. MAHANUDDY	Native state of Nowagudda, lat. 20° 20', lon. 82° W., 30 m.; N.E., 110 m.; S.E., 300 m., to Bay of Bengal by numerous mouths.—Length, 520 m.		
43. BRAHMINY	Palamow table-land, lat. 23° 25', lon. 84° 13'. S.—E.—S.E., into Bay of Bengal, near Pt. Palmyras.—Length, 410 m.		
44. BYTURNEE	Near Lohardugga, lat. 23° 29', lon. 84° 55'. N.—E.—S.—S.W.—S.E.—E., into Bay of Bengal, by Dhumrah river.—Length, 345 m.		

Western India.

Eastern side of India.

Name.	Source, Course, Discharge, and Length.	Tributaries, and their Length in British Miles; and Area drained.	Remarks.
RAMGUNGA, tributary to GANGES.	Kumaon, lat. $30^{\circ} 6'$, lon. $79^{\circ} 20'$; about 7,144 ft. above the sea. S.E., 20 m.; S.W., 70 m.; S. to Moradabad—S.E.—S., into Ganges.—Length, 373 m.	Kosee, 150; Garra, 240 m.	Forable at Moradabad, at 15 m. below confluence with Kosee; but not usually fordable below Jellalabad.
COOSY, tributary to GANGES.	Himalaya Mountains, lat. $28^{\circ} 55'$, lon. $80^{\circ} 11'$. S.W.—S.E.—S.—E.—S.E.—S., into Ganges.—Length, 325 m.	Arun, 310; Tambur, 95; Gogaree, 235; Dud Coosy, 50; Tiljuga, 40 m.—16,000 sq. m. dr.	Where narrowest, and when lowest, stream 1,200 ft. wide and 15 ft. deep. It is larger than the Jumna or the Ghogra.
MAHANANDA, tributary to GANGES.	Near Darjeeling, in the Sikkim hills, lat. $26^{\circ} 57'$, lon. $88^{\circ} 20'$. S., 40 m.; S.W., 60 m.; S.E., 50 m.; S., 20 m.; S.E., 40 m.; S., 30 m.—Length, 240 m.	Navigable during the dry season for craft of 8 tons as far as Kishengunge; for those of much larger burthen during the rains.
KARUNASSA, tributary to GANGES.	In the Kymore range, lat. $24^{\circ} 38'$, lon. $83^{\circ} 11'$. N.—N.W., into the Ganges, near Ghazepoor.—Length, 140 m.	
TONS, tributary to GANGES.	Lat. 21° , lon. $80^{\circ} 30'$. N.W.—E.N.E.—N., into the Ganges, a few miles below Allahabad.—Length, 165 m.	Satni, Beher, Mabana, Belun, and Scoti.—Including small streams, 13,000 sq. m. drained.	At confluence with Bhagcerutte, 142 ft. broad; rises 46 ft. during the melting of the snow.
ALUKNUNDA, tributary to GANGES.	Lat. $30^{\circ} 33'$, lon. $79^{\circ} 39'$. N.W.—S.W.—W.—S.W., into the Bhagcerutte, at Deoprayag.—Length, 80 m.	Doulee, 35; Vishnuganga, 25; Mundakni, 32; Pindur, 60 m.	Between 60 and 70 ft. wide in the beginning of May, 5 m. from its mouth.
BHILLUNG, tributary to GANGES.	Lat. $30^{\circ} 46'$, lon. $78^{\circ} 55'$. S.W., into the Bhagcerutte.—Length, 50 m.	Barrachur, 155 m.	Crossed by a ferry, 50 m. above its mouth. At Rancegunj, 135 m. from mouth, 500 yds. wide, fordable, with a rapid current about 1 ft. deep in December.
DAMMOODAH, tributary to HOOGLY.	Ramghur district, lat. $23^{\circ} 55'$, lon. $84^{\circ} 53'$. E. and S.E., to Burdwan; S., to Diamond Harbour.—Length, 350 m.	Comaree.	It is crossed at Amcenagur, 80 m. from source, & at Kailaghat, 40 m. from mouth, by fords during the dry season, and ferries during the rains.
COOSY, tributary to HOOGLY.	Ramghur district, lat. $23^{\circ} 35'$, lon. $85^{\circ} 58'$. Circuitous, but generally S.E., into Hooghly.—Length, 240 m.	Crossed at Bancora, 50 m. from source, and at Jahanabad, by means of fords.
DALKISSORE, tributary to HOOGLY.	Pachete district, lat. $23^{\circ} 30'$, lon. $80^{\circ} 34'$. S.E.—S.—S.E., into Hooghly at Diamond Harbour.—Length, 170 m.	Chang-Chenmo, 68; Nulra, 66 m.	Not navigable along the N. base of Khyber Mts. except on rafts and hides. Navigable for boats of 40 or 50 tons to Dobundee.
SHY-YOK, tributary to INDUS.	Near Kara-korum Pass. S.E.—N.W., into Indus, near Iskardo.—Length, 300 m.	Punchshir, 120; Tagao, 80; Alishang, 120; Soorkh-tlood, 70; Kooner, 230; Suwat, 150 m.—About 42,000 sq. m. drained.	At Roopur, 30 ft. deep, and more than 500 yds. wide. Navigable as far as Ploor in all seasons, for vessels of 10 or 12 tons burthen.
CAROOI, tributary to INDUS.	Lat. $34^{\circ} 15'$, lon. $68^{\circ} 10'$, near Sir-i-Chusma, in Afghanistan; elevation, 8,400 ft. Generally E., through the valley of Cabool, and plains of Jellalabad and Peshawur, into the Indus.—Length, about 320 m.	Trarap, 42; Zingeban-Takpo, 22 m.	
ZANSKAR, tributary to INDUS.	N. declivity of Bara-Lachia Pass, lat. $32^{\circ} 47'$, lon. $77^{\circ} 33'$. N.W.—W.—N.W.—N.E.—N.W.—N.E., into the Indus, a few miles below Le.—Length, 150 m.	Spiri, 120; Buspa, 52; Beas, 290 m.—About 29,000 sq. m., or, including Ghara and Beas, about 65,000 sq. m. drained.	
SUTLEJ, tributary to INDUS.	Remote sources, Lakes Manasarovar and Rahwan Head, lat. $30^{\circ} 8'$, lon. $81^{\circ} 53'$; 15,200 ft. above the sea. N.W., 180 m.; S.W., through Bussahir; W. to junction with Beas; S.W. to Punjnad.—Length, 550 m., to junction with Beas; 300 m. farther to Punjnad; total, 850 m.	Parhati; Sainj, 38; Gomati, 55 m.; Ul; Gaj.—About 10,000 sq. m. drained.	
BEAS, tributary to SUTLEJ.	On S. verge of Rotang Pass, lat. $32^{\circ} 24'$, lon. $77^{\circ} 11'$; 13,200 ft. above the sea. S., 80 m.; W., 50 m.; then a wide sweep to N.W. for 80 m.; S., 80 m., to Sutlej, at Endresen.—Length, 290 m.		
CHENAB, tributary to INDUS.	Near Bara-Lachia Pass, lat. $32^{\circ} 48'$, lon. $77^{\circ} 27'$. N.W. to Murumurdwan; S.W. to confluence with Jhelum, thence S.W. to Ghara, or continuation of Sutlej.—Length, 605 m. to Jhelum, 765 m. to Ghara.		Becomes navigable for timber-rafts at Aknur. Descends at the average rate of 40 ft. per m. for the first 200 m. Estimated elevation at Kishitwar, 5,000 ft.

DIV. XI.	JHELUM, tributary to CHENAB.	The Lidur, in N.E. mountains of Cashmere, near Shesha Nag. Through valley of Cashmere, and into Punjab by Baramulla gorge; S. to Chenab confluence, in lat. 33° 10', lon. 75° 9'.—Length, 409 m.	Lidur, 50; Vishnu, 44; Sindb, 72; Lolab, 44; Kishengunga, 140; Kanihar, 100; Pirpanjal, 115 m.—About 280,000 sq. m. drained.	Navigable for 70 m. through Cashmere. Navigable from the Indus to the town of Ohind.
	RAVEI, tributary to CHENAB.	Lat. 32° 26', lon. 77° in the Pirpanjal or Mid-Himalaya range, to the W. of Rotang Pass. S.W., about 40 m.; W. to Lahore; S.W. to junction with Chenab.—Length, 450 m.	Nye, 20; Sana, 36; Chakki, 50 m.—About 22,000 sq. m. drained.	Tortuous course: fordable in most places for eight months of the year.
	SANPOO, tributary to BRAHMAPUTRA.	N. face of Himalayas, lat. 30° 25', lon. 82° 5'. E., winding its way through Tibet, and washing the borders of the territory of Lassa. It then turns suddenly S., and falls into the Brahmaputra, under the name of Dihong.—Length, about 1,000 m.	Sanki-Sanpoo, Niamtsion, Zzangtsion, Lalee Nuddee.	
	TEESTA, tributary to BRAHMAPUTRA.	About lat. 27° 59', lon. 88° 50'. S.—S.E., into Brahmaputra.—Length, 333 m.	Lachoong, 23; Rungbo, 22; Rungeet, 23 m.	
	BARAK, tributary to BRAHMAPUTRA.	It is an offset from the Jerce, which leaves in lat. 24° 43', lon. 92° 13'. W. through Cachar and Silbet; S.W., into Megna.—Length, 200 m.	Decmree, of greater length than itself.	
	MONAS, tributary to BRAHMAPUTRA.	Himalaya range, lat. 28° 20', lon. 91° 18'. S., 40 m.; S.W., 110 m.; S.W., into Brahmaputra.—Length, 189 m.	Myitia Khyoung, 170 m.	
	KHYENDWEN, tributary to IRRAWADDY.	Burmah, lat. 26° 28', lon. 96° 54'. Generally S., into Irawaddy, near the town of Amyenmyo.—Length, 470 m.		
	WEIN-GUNGA, or PRENHETA, tributary to GODAVERY.	Mahadeo Mountains, lat. 22° 25', lon. 79° 8'. E., 80 m.; S., 34 m.; S., 25 m.; S.W., 80 m.; S., 100 m.; into Godavery.—Length, 439 m.	Pench Nuddee, 150; Kanhan Nuddee, 130 m.—About 21,000 sq. m. drained, exclusive of Payne-Gunga and Wurdia.	Elevation at Bandara, lat. 21° 12'; 872 ft. above the sea.
	WURDA, tributary to WEIN-GUNGA.	Santpoora Mountains, lat. 21° 44', lon. 78° 25'. Generally N.W. to S.E.—Length, about 250 m.	Payne-Gunga, 320 m.—About 8,000 sq. m. drained.	Fordable, except at the height of the rains; then navigable for 100 m. above its mouth.
	PAYNE-GUNGA, tributary to WEIN-GUNGA.	Lat. 20° 32', lon. 76° 4', in Candelsh. Very circuitous, but generally E., into Wurdia.—Length, 320 m.	Araun, 105; Koony, 65 m.—About 8,000 sq. m. drained.	
	MANJERA, tributary to GODAVERY.	Lat. 18° 44', lon. 75° 30'. S.E.—S.W., into Godavery.—Length, 330 m.	Thairnya, 95; Nairinja, 75; Mannada, 100 m.—About 11,000 sq. m. drained.	
	BEEMAH, tributary to KISTNAH.	Lat. 19° 5', lon. 73° 33', in the table-land of the district of Poona; 3,090 ft. above the sea. S.E., into Kistnah.—Length, 510 m.	Goor, 100; Neera, 120; Seena, 170; Tandoor, 85 m.—About 29,000 sq. m. drained.	
	TOONGABADRA, tributary to KISTNAH.	Lat. 14° lon. 75° 43', junction of Toonga and Budra rivers. N.—N.E., into Kistnah.—Length, 325 m.	China Hungry; Hundry, 225 m.; Wurdia.—About 28,000 sq. m. drained.	Rocky obstacles to navigation in upper part of course. Fine teak forests on banks.
	POORNAH, tributary to TAPTEE.	Lat. 21° 35', lon. 77° 41'. S., 65 m.; W., 95 m.; into the Taptee.—Length, 160 m.		
	GIRNA, tributary to TAPTEE.	E. slope of W. Ghats, lat. 20° 37', lon. 73° 25'. E., 120 m.; N., 50 m.; into the Taptee.—Length, 160 m.		
	BUDEVANI, tributary to CAUVERY.	Among the Kunda group, lat. 11° 15', lon. 76° 4'. E., into Cauvery.—Length, 120 m.		
	NOVEL, tributary to CAUVERY.	E. slope of W. Ghats, lat. 10° 59', lon. 76° 44'. E., into Cauvery.—Length, 95 m.		
	LUETSOO, tributary to MAHA-NUDDY.	Lat. 23° 18', lon. 82° 32'. S., into Mahanuddy.—Length, 130 m.		
	TELL, tributary to MAHANUDDY.	Lat. 19° 54', lon. 82° 41'. N.W., into Mahanuddy.—Length, 130 m.		

NOTE.—Of the above-named rivers, forty-nine main streams flow to the sea; the chief tributaries to these number 210, of which thirty flow for 200 m. and upwards; sixty-three have a course of 100 to 200 m.; and the remainder under 100 m.

Rivers in Afghanistan, and in the Countries adjacent to India on the North-west—so far as known.

Name and Length.	Source, Course, and Discharge.	Tributaries or Confluents; and their Length in English Miles.	Remarks.
HELMUND.—650 miles . . .	Pughman range, lat. $34^{\circ} 40'$, lon. $68^{\circ} 2'$; at an elevation of 10076 ft. above the sea. Westerly; south-westerly to Pullaluk; north-westerly; in the Hamoon marshy lake, and that of Duk-i-Teer, by numerous channels.	At 25 m. below Girishk receives the Urgundab, 250 m.; Turnak.	At Girishk, 350 m. from source; banks, about 1,000 yards apart; in spring, spreads beyond these limits,—depth, 10 or 12 ft.,—with a rapid current. At Pullaluk it was crossed by Christie, who found it at the end of March, 400 yards wide, and very deep. In April the water (which is briny) is 7 or 8 yards wide, and 2 ft. deep. It is crossed on the route from Shawl to Kandahar.
LORAL.—About 80 miles . .	Shawl table-land, lat. $39^{\circ} 49'$, lon. $67^{\circ} 20'$. South-westerly, until lost in the sands of the desert of Khorasan.	
KOONDOOZ.—About 300 miles	Valley of Bamian, about lat. $34^{\circ} 52'$, lon. $67^{\circ} 40'$. Easterly; northerly; north-easterly; northerly; and north-westerly; into the Amoo or Jinnon River.	Inderaub, 65; and Khanah-i-bad, 90 m.	
HERI RUD, or HURY.—About 600 miles.	Huzareh Mountains, lat. $34^{\circ} 50'$, lon. $66^{\circ} 20'$; 9,500 ft. above the sea. Generally westerly to Herat, where it turns north-westerly, forming a junction with the Moorghamb; the united stream is ultimately lost in the desert of Khorasan.	Sir-i-Jungle, 90 m.	At Herat, it was formerly crossed by a brick bridge, but three out of thirty-three arches being swept away, communication is interrupted in time of inundation. It is remarkable for the purity of its water.
POORALLEE.—100 miles . . .	Jhalawan province, about lat. $27^{\circ} 23'$, lon. $66^{\circ} 21'$. Southerly, through Las province into the Indian Ocean, in lat. $25^{\circ} 23'$, lon. $66^{\circ} 20'$; near Soumeance.		From the band N. of Lyaree, the river has no bed; as it fills, during the rains, the bund is swept away, and the water inundates the plain, which is here about 5 m. broad.
GHUZNEE.—About 60 miles .	Huzareh Mountains, about lat. $33^{\circ} 50'$, lon. $68^{\circ} 20'$. Generally southerly, as far as lat. 33° ; afterwards south-westerly; into Lake Abistada, in lat. $32^{\circ} 42'$, lon. $68^{\circ} 3'$.	N. E.—The tributaries of these rivers, in the countries adjacent to India, are as yet very imperfectly known,—as indeed are also the origin and courses of the rivers themselves, or the countries through which they flow.	Liable to inundations; and as its bed, in some parts, occupies the whole breadth of the ravine, travellers are frequently overtaken by the torrent. Falls $3,751$ ft. in 50 m., from source to Dadar.
BOLAN.—About 70 miles . .	Sir-i-Bolan, Bolan Pass, lat. $29^{\circ} 51'$, lon. $67^{\circ} 8'$; 4,494 ft. above sea. Remarkably sinuous, but generally south-easterly; forms a junction with the Nari River.	Turnak	The Moola or Gundaya Pass winds along its course.
MOOLA.—About 150 miles . .	A few miles S. of Kelat, in Beloochistan. South-easterly, about 80 miles; north-easterly; and easterly; ultimately absorbed in the desert of Shikarpoor.		Where crossed 12 m. from Kandahar, it is, ordinarily, about 40 yards wide, from 2 to 3 ft. deep, and fordable; but in inundations, becomes much increased. Greater part of its water drawn off to fertilise the country.
UROUNDAB.—250 miles . . .	Huzareh Mountains, about lat. 33° , lon. 67° . South-westerly to 25 m. past Kandahar; westerly remainder of course,—falls into the Helmund River.	Zhobe, about 170 m.	Its bed for a great distance forms the Goolairee Pass, or great middle route from Hindoostan to Khorasan, by Dera Ismael Khan and Ghuznee: crosses the Soliman range lat. 32° .
GOMUL.—About 160 miles .	Afghanistan, about lat. 33° , lon. $69^{\circ} 6'$, at the foot of an offshoot from Suhiad-Koh. S.; W.; and a little E. of S. to Goolkuts; thence E., N.E., and S.E., until absorbed by the sands of the Damau.		

Table-lands of British India—their Extent, Height, &c.

Name.	Locality.	Elevation, in Feet.	Remarks.
CENTRAL INDIA, including OODEYPOOR, MALWA, BHOPAL, BUNDELCUND, and SHAHABAD.	Extends by the Arravalli, Dongurpoor, Vindhya, Bindyachal, Panna, and Ban-dair ranges,—73° to 84°; about 700 m. long; breadth, very various—greatest from Amiherra to Aimeer, 250 m.; from Mhow to Mokundurra, 150 m.; at Saugor and Dumoh, 75 m.; afterwards very narrow.	Highest towards S. and W.; average of Oodeypoor, 2,000 ft. Malwa, 1,500 to 2,000. Bhopal, 2,000. Bundelcund, about 1,000. Shahabad, 700. Plain of Aimeer, 2,000. Oodeypoor town, 24° 37', 73° 49'; 2,064 ft.—slope to N.E., Banas River flowing in that direction; gradual fall also to valley of Chumbul River, where it rises to Malwa; Mhow, 2,019. Dectan, 1,881. Dhar, 1,908. Indore, 1,998. Crest of Jaum Ghaut, 2,398. Oojein, 1,698. Adjigurih, 1,340. Aniherra, 1,800. Saugor, 1,940. Rhotagurh, 700. Sonar River, source, 1,900 ft. From the Vindhya range the surface has a generally gradual, but in some places abrupt, descent; as at Mokundurra, and the Bindyachal hills, where rivers occasionally fall over the brow in cascades. Shahabad district very rocky and uneven.	Tin and copper are found in Oodeypoor. In Bhopal the prevailing geological formation appears to be trap overlying sandstone. Minerals are few and unimportant. Water is very plentiful. The mineral resources of Bundelcund appear to be considerable.
SOUTHERN INDIA, including DECCAN, MYSOOR, &c.	Supported as it were by a triangle formed by the Sautpoora or sub-Vindhya on the N., W. Ghauts on the W., and E. Ghauts on the E.; the Sautpoora range constituting the base. Length, from Sautpoora River to Salem, about 700 m.; breadth from Mahabulishwar to Sirgoojah, about 700 m. If Chota-Nagpoor be considered as part of this great table-land, it may be said to extend nearly 250 m. farther in a north-easterly direction.	Highest parts, those nearest W. Ghauts, and in centre of Mysoor. Mahabulishwar 18° 79' 45'; 4,700 ft. Source of Kistnah, 4,500. Source of Godavary, 3,000. Poona, 2,823. Source of Manjira, 3,019 ft. Rivers rising in ravines between spurs of W. Ghauts, wind their way through E. Ghauts across the Deccan, the slope being in that direction. Plains of Nagpoor, 1,000 ft.—slope to S.E.; drained by Wein-Gunga, which falls into Godavary. Hyderabad, 1,800 ft. Secunderabad, 17° 26', 78° 33'; 1,837 ft. Beder, 17° 53', 77° 36'; 2,359 ft. From the Wein-Gunga the surface rises towards N.E., where Ryppoor, 21° 12', 81° 40', is 1,747 ft. Source of Mahanuddy, 2,111; and Konkeir, 20° 16', 81° 33', 1,953 ft. Nundy-droog, highest in Mysoor, 4,856 ft.; slope from hence on all sides.—S. to Bangalore, 3,000; E. to plains of Carnatic—Chittoor, 1,100; N. to plains of Gooty, 1,182; and those of Bellary, 1,600 ft. Colar, 13° 8', 78° 10'; 2,800 ft. Mysoor town, 12° 18', 76° 42'; 2,430 ft. Seringapatam, 12° 25', 76° 45', 2,412;—from hence, there is a gradual rise to Coorg, where Verajenderpetta is 3,399, and Merkara, 4,506 ft. From Bangalore, descent to S. by rather abrupt steeples to plains of Salem, 1,400, and Colmbatoor, 1,483 ft. From Belgaum, 15° 50', 74° 36', 2,500 ft., there is a gradual fall to the E. Bellary plains, 1,600 ft. Gooty plains, 1,182; Cuddapah town, 507; and E. part of Cuddapah dist., 450 ft. Chota-Nagpoor, 3,000 ft.; hills running E. and W., but of little elevation; Sirgoojah, mountains, rising 600 to 700 ft. above level of Chota-Nagpoor. Myntpat table-land, about 30 m. S.E. from Sirgoojah town; area not ascertained—about 3,000 or 3,500 ft. Palamow dist., very mountainous—little known. Hazarebagh town, 24° 85' 24'; 1,750 ft. Slope of country to S., towards Sambulpoor—N. and E. parts of dist. very mountainous, but level, and even depressed towards Mahanuddy. Sambulpoor town, only 400 ft. Orissa table-land then rises on the other side of Mahanuddy, in some places to 1,700 ft., backed by the chain of E. Ghauts. Amarkantak, jungly table-land, 22° 40', 81° 50'; 3,500 ft.	Hypogene schists, penetrated and broken up by prodigious outbursts of plutonic and trappean rocks, occupy by far the greater portion of the superficies of Southern India. The central part of the Deccan is composed of waving downs, which, at one time, present for miles a sheet of green harvests, but in the hot season, bear the appearance of a desert, without a tree or shrub to relieve its gloomy sameness. The seaward face of the table-land towards the W., though abrupt, is not precipitous, but consists of a succession of terraces or steps. On the Coromandel side the slope to the sea is gentle, exhibiting the alluvial deposits borne down from the higher portions of the table-land. The soil in the plains is generally fertile, producing abundant crops of wheat, barley, rice, pulse, excellent vegetables, cotton and sugar-cane. The uncultivated parts are overrun with a coarse grass. A great part of the region is quite unknown to us.
SOUTH-WEST FRONTIER OF BENGAL, including CHOTANAGPOOR, SIRGOOJAH, PALAMOW, HAZAREBAGH, MYNTPAT and AMARKANTAK.	Between 22° 30' and 24° 30'; and easterly, from about 85° to 82°.	The surface generally consists of valleys varying from 4,000 to 6,000 ft. above Bengal plains. Khatmandoo (in an oval-shaped valley 12 m. long), 27° 49', 85° 18'; 4,628. Bhyrtoree, 29° 34', 80° 30'; 5,615 ft. Slope to S. drained by Ghogra, Gunduck, and Coosy.	The geological formation of the hilly tract—limestone, hornstone, and conglomerate. Vegetable productions of most remarkable stateliness, beauty, and variety. Climate resembles that of southern Europe.
NEPAL.	At the foot of the Himalaya range, between Himalaya and the Tarai; 500 m. long; E. to W., 160 m. broad; area, 54,500 sq. m.		

Table-lands of Afghanistan and the Countries adjacent to India, on the North-west.

Name.	Locality.	Elevation, in Feet.	Remarks.
WESTERN AFGHAN- ISTAN.	From about Ghuznee or Sufiled-Koh, to Anuran Mountains, N. to S.; and from near Kandahar to the Saliman range.	Crest of highland of Ghuznee, lat. 30° 43', lon. 68° 20'; 9,000 ft. Ghuznee, 33° 34', 68° 18'; 7,726. Yerrhuttoo, 33° 20', 68° 10'; 7,502. Mookar, principal source of Tarnak River, 32° 50', 67° 37'; 7,991. Abistada Lake, 23° 55', 68°; 7,000. Pangak, 32° 36', 67° 21'; 6,810. Sbutul, 32° 28', 67° 12'; 6,514. Sir-i-Asp, 32° 15', 66° 54'; 5,973. Kelat-i-Gilje, 22° 8', 66° 45'; 5,773. Juldak, 32° 66° 28'; 5,396. Hydurzie, 30° 23', 66° 51'; 5,259. Hykuzie, 30° 32', 66° 50'; 5,063. Tetr-Andaz, 31° 55', 66° 17'; 4,829. Kandahar, 32° 37', 65° 28'; 3,484 ft.	Afghanistan, far four-fifths of its extent, is a region of rocks and mountains, interspersed with valleys of great fertility, and in many places containing table-lands, cold, bleak, and barren. It has a surface as rugged as that of Switzerland, with summits of much greater height. General slope of country, from N.E. to S.W.
NORTHERN AFGHAN ISTAN.	Between Hindoo-Koosh on the N., and Sufiled-Koh on the S.; and Hazarrah country on the W., and Khyber hills on the E.	Kurzar, near source of Helmund, 31° 30', 67° 54'; 10,939 ft. Kalloo, 31° 30', 67° 56'; 10,883. Youart or Oord, 34° 22', 68° 11'; 10,618. Gooljatoe, 34° 31', 68° 5'; 10,500. Shibbertoo, 34° 50', 67° 20'; 10,500. Shah Sung, 34° 34', 68° 8'; 10,488. Gurdan Dewar, 34° 25', 68° 8'; 10,076. Soltuh, 34° 40', 67° 50'; 9,839. Khawak Fort, 35° 38', 70° 5'; 9,300. Topchee, 31° 45', 67° 44'; 9,085. Chasgo, 35° 43', 68° 22'; 8,697. Bamian, 34° 50', 67° 45', 8,496. Hoftasaya, 33° 49', 68° 15'; 8,420. Sir-i-Chusma, 34° 21', 68° 20'; 8,400. Zohak's Fort, 34° 50', 67° 55'; 8,186. Killa Sher Mahomed, 34° 16', 68° 45'; 8,051. Kot-i-Asraf, 34° 28', 68° 35'; 7,749. Naidun, 34° 22', 68° 43'; 7,747. Urghandee, 34° 30', 68° 50'; 7,628. Khoord Kabool, 34° 21', 69° 18'; 7,466. Kabool, 34° 28', 69°; 6,386. Boothank, 34° 30', 69° 15'; 6,247. Jagdalluk, 34° 25', 69° 46'; 5,370. Gandamak, 34° 17', 70° 5'; 4,616. Crest of Khyber Pass, 34° 8', 71° 15'; 3,373. Alt-Musjid, 34° 3', 71° 22'; 2,433. Jellalabad, 34° 25', 70° 28'; 1,961 ft.	Slope from W. to E.; Kabool River flowing in that direction: lofty mountains enclosing valley of Jellalabad on N. and S. sides. Course of river obstructed, and bed contracted by ridges of rock connecting them. City of Kabool surrounded by hills on three sides. Jellalabad, on a small plain.
SHAWL AND FISHEEN	Between Hala and Anuran ranges, on the N. frontier of Beloochistan.	Khojuck Pass, Anuran Mts., 30° 45', 66° 30'; 7,449 ft. Fishcen, from 5,000 to 6,000. Shawl exceeds 9,000. Town of Shawl, 5,563. Dasht-i-Bedowlat, 30° 57'; about 5,000. Siriah, 30° 3', 66° 53'; 5,793 ft.	Wildest parts of enclosing mountains, —haunts of wild sheep, and goats: more accessible tracts yield pasture to herds and flocks. Orchards numerous. Dasht-i-Bedowlat (<i>wretched plain</i>), destitute of water.
BELOOCHISTAN . . . S. of Afghanistan	S. of Afghanistan	Kelat, 28° 53', 66° 27'; 6,000 ft. Sohrab, 28° 22', 66° 9'; 5,800. Munzilgah, 29° 53', 67°; 5,793. Angera, 28° 10', 66° 12'; 5,250. Bapow, 28° 16', 66° 20'; 5,000. Pucose-Bhent, 28° 10', 66° 35'; 4,900. Sir-i-Bolan, 29° 50', 67° 14'; 4,494. Putkee, 28° 5', 66° 40'; 4,250. Paesht-Kbana, 27° 50', 66° 47'; 3,500. Nard, 27° 52', 66° 54'; 2,850. Ab-i-goom, 28° 46', 67° 23'; 2,540. Jungikooht, 27° 55', 67° 2'; 2,150. Bent-i-Jah, 28° 4', 67° 10'; 1,850. Beebo Nancee, 29° 39', 67° 28'; 1,695. Kohow, 28° 20', 67° 12'; 1,250. Gurnab, 29° 36', 67° 32'; 1,081. Kullar, 28° 18', 67° 15'; 750 ft.	Coast craggy, but not elevated; in some places a sandy shore; inland surface becomes higher. Most remarkable features of Beloochistan, rugged and elevated water, barrenness, and deficiency of surface. It may be described as a maze of mountains, except on the N.W., in which direction the surface descends to the Great Desert on the S., where a low tract stretches along the sea-shore.
CASHMERE and BUL- TISTAN, or LITTLE TIBET.	Western Himalaya	Average of Cashmere valley, between 5,000 and 6,000 ft. Haramuk Mt. 13,000. Pir-panjal, 15,000. Small elevations in valley, 250 to 500 ft. Average of valley of Indus (N. of Cashmere vale), 6,000 to 7,000 ft. Slope from S.E. to N.W. Mountains on each side rising from 6,000 to 8,000 ft. higher.	Mountains enclosing Cashmere vale, basaltic. Ranges on each side of Bul-tistan valley rugged, bare, and nearly inaccessible; formation generally of gneiss; that of the valley, shingle and sand.

PRINCIPAL CITIES.*—A description of the cities and towns in India would occupy several volumes: all that can here be given is a brief note on some of the best known.†

Calcutta,—on the left bank of the Hooghly, about 100 m. from the sea; present seat of supreme government; a village when acquired by the English in 1700. Length, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ m.; breadth, $1\frac{1}{2}$ m.; area, nearly 8 sq. m. Beyond the Mahratta Ditch (an intrenchment intended as a defence against the incursions of the Mahrattas), are the suburbs of Chitpoor, Nundenbagh, Bahar-Simlah, Sealdah, Eutally, Ballygunge, Bhowanepoor, Allipoor, and Kidderpoor. On the opposite side of the river lie the villages of Seebpoor, Howrah, and Sulkea. The city is defended by Fort William, a large and strong fortress, built on a plain, of an octagonal form, somewhat resembling that of Antwerp: it mounts 619 guns.

In May, 1850, the population of Calcutta, exclusive of suburbs, was 413,182; number of residences, 62,565; of huts, 49,445. Among the public buildings are the Government-house, a magnificent structure; the Town-hall, a handsome edifice; the Supreme Court of Judicature, the Madrissa and Hindoo colleges, Metcalfe Hall, and the Ochterlony monument. About three miles below the city, on the Howrah side, there are extensive botanical gardens, laid out with good taste and effect.

The most elevated part of Calcutta (Clive-street) is only thirty feet above the sea-level at low-water. It appears to me very probable that the whole city will some day be submerged by the shifting beds of the Hooghly or Ganges.

Madras,—on the Coromandel coast, consists of three broad streets, running north and south, dividing the town into four nearly equal parts; they are well built, and contain the principal European shops. On the beach is a line of public offices, including the Supreme Court, the Custom-house, the Marine Board Office, and the offices and storehouses of the principal European merchants. The other buildings are, the Mint, the Roman Catholic Cathedral, the Church Mission Chapel, Armenian Church, Trinity Chapel, the General Hospital, and Medical School. Fort St. George is in form an irregular polygon, somewhat of a semicircle, of which the sea-face, which is well armed with heavy guns, is nearly a diameter.

No part is probably more than twenty feet above the sea-level. Population, 720,900, including the Black Town and suburbs.

Bombay.—The old town, built on the island, is about 2 m. in circuit, and strongly fortified; the recent increase of the calibre of the guns has completed the means of defence. Few remarkable buildings. There is a Government-house, an excellent dockyard and foundry for steam-vessels, a church within the fort, and one on the island of Colaba, where there are considerable cantonments: several banks, insurance companies, the Steam Navigation Company, Bombay branch of Asiatic Society, Bombay Geographical Society, &c.; and the leading merchants have their offices within the fort. Population, 566,119, including the widely-scattered suburbs.

Agra,—formerly a large city; the old walls remain, and mark out a space extending along the Jumna,

* The several positions of these places, and their elevation, will be given in a Topographical Index.

† Full details will be found in Thornton's excellent *Gazetteer*.

about 4 m. in length, with a breadth of 3 m.; the area is about 11 sq. m.; but not one-half is at present occupied. There is one wide street running from the fort in a north-westerly direction. The houses are built chiefly of red sandstone. Within the fort is the palace of Shah Jehan, and his hall of audience; the Motee Masjid or Pearl Mosque, and other structures. The celebrated Tajmahal, or mausoleum of Shah Jehan, is outside the city, and about a mile east of the fort. Adjacent to the city, on the west, is the Government-house, the official residence of the lieutenant-governor of the North Western Provinces. Population, 66,000.

Ahmedabad,—on the left bank of the Sabarmuttee, $5\frac{1}{2}$ m. in circumference, surrounded by a high wall, with irregular towers every fifty yards. The noblest architectural relic is the Jumma Masjid or Great Mosque, built by Ahmed Shah of Guzerat, the founder of the city. Near the city wall is a tank a mile in circumference. Population said to amount to 30,000.

Ajmere,—a city of great antiquity and celebrity—situate in a picturesque valley, surrounded by hills, on the base and slope of one of which the town is built. A wall of stone, with five strong gateways (all on the north and west sides), surround it. The town contains several large mosques and temples. Some of the streets are wide and handsome. The houses of the wealthy are spacious, and generally well built: the habitations of the poorer classes are more commodious than ordinary. The strong fort of Taraghur, with a walled circumference of 2 m., surmounts the hill rising above the city: it contains two tanks, and commands another outside.

Allahabad,—at the confluence of the Ganges (here $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. wide) and Jumna, ($\frac{3}{4}$ of a m. in width.) The fort on the east and south rises directly from the water, and is in form a bastioned quinquangle, 2,500 yards in circuit, and of great strength. The town extends along the Jumna, to the west of the fort. Notwithstanding the advantageous position, it is an ill-built and poverty-stricken place. The Jumma Masjid is a stately building, but without much ornament. Population, 70,000. [This ought to be the seat of Supreme Government for India.]

Almora.—Principal place of the British district of Kumaon, situate on the crest of a ridge running from east to west, consists principally of one street, $\frac{3}{4}$ of a m. long, secured by a gate at each end, and forming two bazaars, divided from each other by Fort Almora, and by the site of the ancient palace of the rajahs of Kumaon, now occupied by a gaol. Detached houses, chiefly inhabited by Europeans and Brahmins, are scattered along each face of the mountain below the town. Fort Moira is at the western extremity, and adjoins the military lines.

Amritsir.—A walled city, about half-way between the Beas and Ravee rivers. It owes its importance to a *Tulao* or reservoir, which Ram Das caused to be made here in 1581, and named it Amrita Saras, or "fount of immortality." It is a square, of 150 paces, containing a great body of water, pure as crystal, though multitudes bathe in it: it is supplied, apparently, from natural springs. On a small island in the middle is a temple, to which are attached 500 or 600 priests. On this island Ram Das (the founder) is said to have spent his life in a sitting posture. City very populous and extensive; streets narrow; houses lofty. Manufactures—cloths, silks, and shawls. There is besides a very extensive transit trade, and considerable monetary transactions. Most striking ob-

ject, the fortress Govinghur; its great height and heavy batteries, rising one above the other, giving it a very imposing appearance. Population, 80,000 or 90,000.

Bangalore.—Town tolerably well built, has a good bazaar, and is inclosed by a wall, a ditch, and a broad fence of thoros and bamboos. Fort oval, constructed of strong masonry: within it is the palace of Tippoo Sultan, a large building of mud. Manufactures—cotton and silk; but the present importance of the place results from its being the great British military establishment for the territory of Mysoor. The cantonment is nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. in length, and 1 m. in breadth. Population, 60,000.

Bareilly.—situate in a pleasant and well-wooded country in the N.W. provinces. It is a considerable town, the principal street or bazaar being nearly 2 m. long, has a brisk and lucrative commerce, and some manufactures, of which the principal is that of house furniture, cotton-weaving, muslins, silks, jewellery, gold, silver, and metal working, besides numerous others. Population, 92,208. Cantonment at south side of town, near the new fort, which is quadrangular, and surrounded by a ditch: it is the head-quarters for the Rohilcund division.

Buroda.—situate near the river Biswamintri, which is here crossed by a stone bridge. The town is surrounded by numerous groves containing many mosques, mausolea, and tombs of Mussulmen, which give an impressive solemnity to the scene. The fortifications, of no great strength, consist of slight walls, with towers, and several double gateways. Town intersected and divided into four equal quarters, by two spacious streets, meeting in the centre, at a market-place. Houses, in general, very high, and built of wood. Population, 140,000.

Bejapoor.—The walls, which are of hewn stone and very lofty, are entire, but inside all is desolation. The deep moat, the double rampart, and the ruins of the palaces in the citadel, attest its former magnificence. The Great Mosque is a grand edifice, and the tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah, remarkable for elegant and graceful architecture. The chief feature of the scene is the mausoleum of Mohammed Adil Shah, the dome of which fills the eye from every point of view. The fort has a rampart flanked by 109 towers. The works surrounding it, and the citadel in the interior, are very strongly built; the parapets are 9 ft. high, and 3 ft. thick. The ditch is from 40 to 50 ft. in breadth, and about 18 deep: the curtains, which appear to rise from the bottom of it, vary from 30 to 40 ft. high, and 24 ft. thick. A revetted counterscarp is discernible, the circuit of which is $6\frac{1}{2}$ m., and its ground-plan deviates little from a circle. To the westward of the fort there is a vast mass of ruins, from the numerous edifices of every description scattered around. Bejapoor was evidently one of the greatest cities in India. It was formerly divided into several quarters, one of which is 6 m. in circumference. Among the various wonders of this ruined capital, is the gun called Malik-i-Maidan, or "the King of the Plain," one of the largest pieces of brass ordnance in the world.

Beekaneer.—capital of the Rajpoot state of the same name, viewed from without presents the appearance of a great and magnificent city. The wall, which is built of stone, is $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. in circuit, 15 to 30 ft. high (including parapet), 6 ft. thick, surrounded on three sides by a ditch 15 ft. deep and 20 ft. wide; there are five gates and three sally-ports. The interior exhibits a rather flourishing appearance;

many good houses, neat and uniform, with red walls, and white doors and windows. Eighteen wells within the city; depth of each about 240 ft. Citadel situate $\frac{1}{2}$ a m. N.E. of the city, and quite detached from it; defences, about $\frac{2}{3}$ of a m. in circuit, constructed of good masonry. The rajah's residence occupies nearly the whole of the inside. Population, stated by Boileau and Tod, 60,000.

Belgaum.—Southern Mahratta country. Fort of an oval ground-plan, 1,000 yards long, 700 broad, and surrounded by a broad and deep wet ditch, cut in very hard ground. In 1818, the inhabitants formed a committee, and in four months reconstructed all the roads of the town, extending to a length of between 9 and 10 m. Belgaum was selected as the site of the educational institution for the instruction of the sons of natives of rank: in February, 1853, the number of pupils exceeded 50.

Bellary.—The fort, or fortified rock, round which the cantonment is situate, is a hill of granite: length, 1,150 yards; height, 450 ft.; circumference, 2 m.; eastern and southern sides precipitous; western face slopes gradually towards plain. Lower fort, $\frac{1}{2}$ a m. in diameter, contains barracks, arsenal, and commissariat stores, church, two tanks, and several on the top of the rock. Native population in 1836, exclusive of military, 30,426.

Benares.—on the Ganges, 3 m. long, 1 m. broad. Streets very narrow, and access gained to the river by noble ghauts, extending along the bank of the river, in the city. Numerous Hindoo temples, which render it a celebrated place of pilgrimage. Population, 300,000.

Bhagulpoor.—on the right bank of the Ganges here 7 m. wide during the rains. Though represented to be 2 m. long and 1 broad, it is a poor place, consisting of scattered market-places, meanly built; it is, however, ornamented by European residences and by mosques. Cavalry barracks, occasionally occupied; 4 m. from them are those of a native corps formed of the highlanders (Sonthals or Puharees) of the Rajmahal wilds. There is also a court of justice, a gaol, and an educational institution.

Bhoj.—the capital of Cutch, at the base of a fortified hill. When viewed from the north, has an imposing appearance. Rajah's palace, a castle of good masonry. A large tank has been excavated at the west end of the city. Population, about 20,000.

Bhopal.—Town surrounded by a wall of masonry about 2 m. in circuit, within which is also a fort of masonry. Outside, a large *gunje* or market, with wide straight streets. The fort of Futtyghur is on a rock S.W. from the town. S.W. of the fort is Bhopal Tal, or Lake, $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. broad: another tank, 2 m. long, is on the east. They are deep, and abound with alligators, but both appear to be artificial. The Bess river has its rise in the former. Bhopal is the seat of the British political residency.

Bhurtpoor.—Town 3 m. long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ broad, and about 8 in circumference. Its site is somewhat depressed; and this circumstance, in a military point of view, contributes to its strength; as the water of a neighbouring *jhil*, being higher than the ditch of the town, can be discharged into it in such a volume, as to render it unfordable. The defences are now shapeless piles of mud. This measure of repair was permitted to the young rajah, after attaining majority, in 1841, and the walls allowed to be maintained in a condition (in the rajah's words) "to keep out thieves and wild beasts:" and the town itself is

* See Historical Section, 1805-'6, and 1824-'5.

merely a great collection of hovels; but it is a thriving place, having a trade in the Sambhur Lake salt. Population estimated at 100,000.

Burdwan,—on the left bank of the Damoodah. The rajah's residence is a great collection of buildings of various sizes and colours, and without symmetry or regularity: the town an assemblage of crowded suburbs, wretched huts, a few handsome houses, but no temple of striking effect. Contiguous to the town is an artificial piece of water, having an estimated area of 30 acres, and much frequented by the natives for bathing. Burdwan contains the civil establishment of the district, and two English schools.

Cawnpore,—on the right bank of the Ganges; area of the city, 690 acres; contains about 11,000 houses, and nearly 59,000 inhabitants. Population of cantonments, 49,975; making a total of 108,796, exclusive of the military. Commerce—busy and important; the Ganges (which is here 500 yards wide when lowest, and 1 m. wide when swollen by the periodical rains) being navigable to the sea, a distance of 1,000 m., and upwards to Sukertal, a distance of 300 m.

Coimbatore,—situate near the left bank of the Noyel, a tributary of the Cauvery, in a dry and well-cultivated country, near the base of the Neilgherry group of mountains. Streets wide, airy, and neatly built; European quarter eastward of the town, and detached from it. In the time of Hyder Ali it is said to have contained 4,000 houses, but it suffered much in the wars between the British and Mysoor.

Cuttack,—situated on a tongue of land near the bifurcation of the Mahanuddy. Fortifications in a ruinous state, their materials fast disappearing, the stones being carried away, and used in various public works; among others, in the lighthouse at False Point, and in the macadamization of the cantonment roads. Within the fort is an old mosque. Town straggling, and exhibits evident signs of decay. The Jumma Masjid, and the "Kuddum Russool," Moslem buildings, are inelegant, and Brahminical temples small and ungraceful. Manufactures—brass cooking-vessels and shoes. Population estimated at 40,000.

Dacca,—on the Burha Gunga, an offset of the Koniae or Jabuna; $\frac{1}{4}$ m. long, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ m. broad. It is at present a wide expanse of ruins. The castle of its founder, Shah Jehangir, the noble mosque he built, the palaces of the ancient newabws, the factories and churches of the Dutch, French, and Portuguese, are all sunk into ruin, and overgrown with jungle. The city and suburbs are stated to possess ten bridges, thirteen ghauts, seven ferry-stations, twelve bazaars, three public wells, a variety of buildings for fiscal and judicial purposes, a gaol and gaol-hospital, a lunatic asylum, and a native hospital. Population, 200,000.

Delhi,—about 7 m. in circumference, is inclosed on three sides by a wall, and on the other, the river. Streets mostly narrow; the principal one is $\frac{3}{4}$ of a m. long, and 50 yds. wide, with good shops on each side. Population, 137,977.

Dinapore.—Important military station on the right bank of the Ganges. Remarkable for the barracks, which are magnificent buildings, and of great extent. Church, spacious and handsome.

Golconda.—Fortress and ruined city, in the Nizam's dominions. Fortress on a rocky ridge of granite, is extensive, very strong, and in good repair, but is commanded within breaching distance. Being the depository of the treasures of the Nizam, and also used as a state prison, it is very strictly guarded, and

entrance cannot be obtained by any but officials. The ancient mausolea form a group about 600 yards from the fort, the stern features of the surrounding rocky ground heightening the impressiveness and grandeur of those astonishing buildings. These tombs were erected at great expense, some of them being said to have cost £150,000. The diamonds of Golconda have obtained great celebrity throughout the world. (*See Minerals.*)

Gwalior,—the capital of the possessions of Sindia's family. The rock on which the celebrated Hill Fort is situate, is completely isolated: greatest height at the north end, 342 ft. The approach, by means of steps cut in the rock, is so large, and of such gentle acclivity, that elephants easily ascend. The passage, protected by guns pointing down it, has a succession of seven gates. Within the enclosure there are several tanks, capable of supplying an adequate garrison, though 15,000 men would be required to man the defences. The town lies along the eastern base of the rock; it is large, but irregularly built, and contains a cannon-foundry, and gunpowder and firework manufactory.

Hurdwar, or sometimes Gangadwara, the "Gate of the Ganges,"—a celebrated place of Hindoo pilgrimage. Town evidently of great antiquity, is situate close to the western bank; the foundations of many of the houses in the bed of the river.

Hydrabad (Deccan).—The ground plan is a trapezoid, the longest or north-western side of which, extending along the river Mussi, is about $2\frac{3}{4}$ m. in length; the south-eastern, 2 m.; the southern, 1 m.; the south-western, $1\frac{3}{4}$ m. A suburb on the river side communicates with the city by a stone bridge. Streets, some paved; narrow; houses close together, and displaying little or no taste. The most remarkable structures are the principal mosque, and the British residency. Population, probably not exceeding 200,000.

Hydrabad (Sinde),—on the Gunjah hills, 4 m. from the Indus. Outline of fortress irregular, corresponding with the winding shape of the hills. Walls built of burnt bricks, thick at the base, but taper towards the top, and weakened by loopholes. There are about 5,000 houses; bazaar extensive, forming one street the entire length of the town. Manufactures—arms, and ornamental silks and cottons. Population (supposed), 24,000.

Indore,—capital of the possessions of Holcar's family. Outline of city, nearly a square of 1,000 yards; area, about 216 acres: ill-built, the houses disposed in irregular winding streets, constructed with sun-dried bricks, and covered with clumsy tiles laid on bamboos. It contains a few mosques, but has no architectural pretensions. The British residency, east of the town, has a pleasing scene.

Jessulmere,—built at the base of the south end of a rocky range of hills. Ramparts and bastions of uncemented stone; circuit, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ m.; height, 14 ft., including a parapet of 6 ft.; thickness of ramparts, 4 ft.: these defences are in many places so obliterated by sand-drifts, that they may be crossed on horseback. There are four gateways and three sally-ports. Outline of citadel an irregular triangle, about $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of a mile in circumference; interior occupied by the palace, and several temples and dwellings. At the time of Boileau's visit, in 1835, there were 6 guns, a large howitzer, and 3 field-pieces.

Jeyppore,—in a small plain surrounded by hills on all sides, except the south. It is about 2 m. long, E. to W.; 1 m. broad, encompassed by a wall

of masonry, with lofty towers and well-protected gateways, and considered to be the most regularly built of the cities laid down by native Indians. A main street, 2 m. long and 40 yards wide, extends from E. to W.; this is intersected by several streets of the same width; and at each point of intersection is a *chauk* or market-place; and the whole is portioned out into rectangular blocks, the palace and royal premises being in the centre. Houses in the principal streets are generally built of stone, and, with the fine temples, add to the architectural splendour of the town. Population, 300,000.

Joudpoor,—on the north-eastern edge of a cultivated but woody plain. Site striking, being at the southern extremity of a ridge 25 m. long, between 2 and 3 m. broad, and from 300 to 400 feet above the average level of the plain. Built on an irregular surface, sloping upwards towards the base of the rock surmounted by the citadel, and inclosed by a rampart 5 m. in circumference. There are several tanks within the walls; but all fail in long-continued droughts, except the Rani Sagur, which is reserved exclusively for the garrison, being thrown open to the citizens only on extreme emergency. North-east of the city is the suburb Mahamandir. Population, 60,000.

Khatmandoo,—Capital of Nepal, situate in a valley,* and on the east bank of the Bishnumutti river. Length, about 1 m.; average breadth, scarcely $\frac{1}{2}$ of a m. Streets narrow; houses brick, with tiled roofs, and though of several stories, are of mean appearance. Town adorned by several temples, the gilded pinnacles of which have a picturesque effect. The river is crossed by two bridges, one at each extremity of the town. Population estimated at 50,000; number of houses, 5,000.

Lahore,—surrounded by a brick wall, and defences 7 m. in circumference: fort at the north-west angle; there are several large and handsome mosques, besides Hindoo temples. Streets narrow; houses lofty; bazaars contracted and mean. Population, 100,000, or 120,000.

Loodiana,—four miles from left bank of the Sutlej: town ill-built, and without a wall, but having a fort of no great strength, which was constructed in 1808, on the north side, situate on a bluff, rising about 30 ft. above the *nullah* or watercourse. It is a thriving place, the residents including several capitalists, among whom are corresponding bankers; and as the mart lies on one of the principal routes between Hindoostan and Afghanistan, it has a considerable transit trade. Manufactures—cotton, cloth, and shawls. Population estimated at 20,000; chiefly Mohammedans.

Lucknow,—extends about 4 m. along the bank of the Goomtee. Streets, with few exceptions, crooked and narrow; number of brick-built houses small—palaces of showy architecture. The great ornament is the Imambarah, a Moslem cathedral, and the mosque attached to it. Population, 300,000.

Masulipatam,—on a plain stretching to the base of the E. Ghauts. Fort built on a swamp overflowed by the sea at spring-tides. Ground-plan, an oblong rectangle, 800 yards long and 600 broad, with high ramparts and a wide and deep ditch. The native town is situated south-west of the cantonment, and has some wide and airy streets, tolerably straight, and well built. Population, in 1837, 27,884.

Meerut,—situate in the Dooab, and nearly equidistant from the Ganges and the Jumna. Ruined wall of the town extensive, inclosing a considerable

space. Streets narrow, and houses ill-built. Most important structure, the English church. Cantonments 2 m. north of the town. Population, 29,014.

Mhow,—In the territory of Indore. Its appearance is that of an European town, having a church with steeple on an eminence, a lecture-room and library, and a theatre. A considerable force is stationed at the cantonments, which are situate $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. S.E. from the town.

Mirzapoor,—consists mainly of three long, wide, straight streets, along the side of which are rows of trees and wells. The houses, seldom more than two stories high, are for the most part built of mud or unburnt brick: those of the Europeans, which are the best, occur only at considerable intervals. It derives its present importance principally from its being the greatest cotton mart in India; military cantonment situated three miles north-east of the city. Population, 55,000.

Mooltan,—An ancient city, 3 m. east of the Chenab, whose inundations reach the fort. It is built on a mound of considerable height, formed of the ruins of more ancient cities. Bazaars extensive; about 4,600 shops. Manufactures—silks, cottons, shawls, loongees, brocades, tissues. Banking constitutes a large proportion of the business, and the merchants are considered rich. Population estimated at 80,000.

Moorshedabad,—extends about 8 m. along both banks of the Ganges, with an average breadth of 4 m. Though a place of considerable commerce it consists but of mud buildings, lying confusedly together. Unapproachable by craft of above a foot draught, during the dry months of spring. Population about 150,000.

Muttra,—extends along the Jumna in the form of a crescent, and, with its great ruined fort, has a very picturesque appearance; but its streets are steep, narrow, winding, and dirty. Population, in 1846, 49,672.

Nagpoor,—About 7 m. in circumference, but very irregular in shape. There is but one good street, the others being mean and narrow. Throughout the town no specimen of fine architecture; the rajah's palace, which is the most considerable building, is devoid of symmetry or beauty; it is merely a large pile of masonry, completely obscured by the encroachments of mean mud huts built against its walls. Population, 111,231.

Oodeypoor, Rajpoot city,—situate on a low ridge, in a valley, where extends an artificial lake 5 m. in circuit. Town ill-built; palace, a noble pile of granite, 100 ft. high, and overlooking the city.

Onjein,—in the territory of Gwalior, on the Seeptra. It is of oblong outline, 6 m. in circumference, surrounded by a stone wall with round towers. Houses crowded together, and built either of brick or wood. Principal bazaar, a spacious street. There are four mosques, and many Hindoo temples. City well supplied with water. The head of the Sindia family has a spacious palace here, but of little exterior magnificence. At the southern extremity of the town is the observatory constructed by Jai Sing, the scientific rajah of Jey-poor. Principal trade in cotton fabrics, opium, and the wares of Europe and China. It is one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindoos, and the first meridian of their geographers.

Patna,—City extends about $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. along the Ganges, inclosed by a rectangular wall, and has extensive suburbs; the principal one, on the east, called Maruganj, contains the chief market, and many store-

* See Note at end of "Mountains."

houses for grain. This is joined by another, denominated Giafir Khan. On the other side of the city is a long, narrow suburb, extending to Bankipoor, a distance of about 4 m.; this is the European quarter. The better class of houses in the city are built of brick, but the greater number of mud, and generally tiled. Population, 284,132.

Peshawur,—built by Akber, who fixed the name, signifying "advanced post," in reference to its being the frontier town of Hindoostan towards Afghanistan, is situate on a plain about 18 m. east of the eastern extremity of the Khyber Pass, and 44 m. from the Indus. In the early part of the present century, when visited by Elphinstone, it was a flourishing town, about 5 m. in circuit, and reported to contain 100,000 inhabitants. Twenty years later, Runjeet Sing demolished the Balla Hissar, the state residence, injured the city, and laid waste the surrounding country. The fortress, erected by the Seiks on the site of the Balla Hissar, is a square of about 220 yards, with round towers at each angle, and surrounded by a wall of mud 60 ft. high, *fausse-braie* 30 ft., and a wet ditch. The city is now improved under the British government. Population, 56,045; Hindoos, 7,706; remainder, Mussulmen.

Poona,—an ill-built city, without walls or fort; bazaars mean, streets irregular; recent improvements have somewhat changed its appearance. Between 1841 and 1846, 400 new houses were built, and several more were in the latter year in course of construction. A bridge over the Nagjurree Nullah was completed, and a stone one replaced for the old Mahratta bridge over the Moota Moola; there is another called the Wellesley bridge; the streets in the eastern part of the city have been macadamized, and a full supply of water secured to the population. The most remarkable building is the palace, formerly the residence of the Peishwa; situation picturesque. Population, 100,000.

Rangoon, or the "City of Victory,"—situated about a mile from the river of the same name. Ground-plan, a square of about $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of a m., having at its northern side a pagoda as a citadel. It has been twice burnt (in 1850, when it was entirely destroyed, and in 1853); but conditions have been prescribed by government for ensuring its protection against future conflagrations.

Sattara,—situate amidst the highlands of the Deccan, and where the country, though rugged, inclines to the eastward. The fort, on the summit of a steep mountain, has an area extending about 1,000 by 500 yards. The town lies immediately under it, in a valley.

Saugor,—built along the west, north, and north-east sides of a lake nearly a mile in length, and three-quarters in breadth, which occupies the lowest part of a valley, or rather basin, surrounded by hills. There is a large fort, now used as an ordnance depôt. The mint stood about a mile from the lake, but the business of the establishment has been transferred to Calcutta. In 1830, an iron suspension-bridge was erected over the Bessi, a river running near the town. Population, 70,000.

Seringapatam,—a celebrated fortress (built 700 years ago) and town, once the capital of Mysoor, situate on an island in the Cauvery. Town ill-built, having narrow streets; houses ill-ventilated and inconvenient: water supplied abundantly from the river, which washes the walls on the northern and south-west sides. Ground-plan, an irregular pentagon, $1\frac{1}{2}$ m. by $\frac{3}{4}$ of a m. Palace of Tippoo

Sultan within the fort, and is surrounded by a strong wall of stone and mud. The Shehr Gangam, a suburb detached from the fortified town, was demolished by Tippoo on the eve of the investment of the place, but was afterwards built with considerable regularity. Population of the island, during his reign, estimated at 150,000; in 1800 it was only 31,895, exclusive of the garrison.

Shikarpoor.—The most important commercial town in Sind. It is situate 20 m. west of the Indus. A branch of the Sind canal passes within 1 m. of the city. Circuit of wall, which is now in ruins, 3,831 yards. The character of the place is thoroughly commercial, almost every house having a shop; mansions of the opulent Hindoo merchants large, inclosed and secluded by high brick walls; but the streets are narrow, and the houses generally small. The bazaar extends about 800 yards through the centre of the city, and contained, in 1837, 884, and in 1841, 923 shops. Transit trade important, as it is on the route to Afghanistan through the Bolan Pass. Population estimated at 30,000; viz., 20,000 Hindoos, and 10,000 Mohammedans, of whom 1,000 are Afghans. The town was founded in 1617.

Surat.—Outline of town an arc, nearly semicircular, the river forming the chord; circuit, about 6 m. Castle, though small, has bastions, covered way, and glacis; streets narrow and winding; houses high, upper stories projecting beyond the base. Population, in 1838, 133,544.

Tanjore.—Town consists of two forts; the greater, 4 m. in circumference, surrounded by a fortified wall and a ditch; streets within it irregularly built. Adjoining is the smaller fort, 1 m. in circuit, and very strong; within it is the great pagoda, considered to be the finest of the pyramidal temples of India.

Trichinopoly.—Rock very striking when viewed from a distance at any point, it being 600 ft. above the surrounding level. The fort is situate on part of the rugged declivity of the rock, and 2 furlongs from the Cauvery, which is embanked, but the works sometimes give way and inundate the country. The fort, with its strong and massive walls, bear the appearance of having been regularly and strongly built; they are from 20 to 30 ft. high, of considerable thickness, and upwards of 2 m. in circumference. Within is an extensive *petta* or town, arranged into tolerably straight, wide, and regular streets, many of which have bazaars. On the rock is a pagoda. The natives manufacture hardware, cutlery, jewellery, saddlery, and cheroots. The cantonment is from 2 to 3 m. south-west of the fort, and the troops generally there form a force of between 4,000 and 5,000 men.

Umballa.—On the route from Hindoostan to Afghanistan. It is a large walled town, situate in a level and highly cultivated country. Houses built of burnt brick, streets narrow. Fort at the N.E. of the town, and under its walls the encamping ground of the British troops.

Vellore.—A town in the Carnatic, with a strong extensive fort, on the south side of the Palar river; ramparts built of large stones, with bastions and round towers at short distances. A deep and wide ditch, cut in the rock, filled with water, surrounds the whole. Within are barracks, hospitals, magazines, and other buildings. Town situate between the fort and some rocky hills on the east, is clean and airy, and has an extensive and well-supplied bazaar. Most remarkable building, a pagoda dedicated to Crishna. Government, in 1846, sanctioned the erection of a church within the fort.

CLIMATE.—A country extending through six-and-twenty degrees of latitude, and with elevations from the coast-level to the height of three or four miles above the sea, must necessarily possess great variety of temperature. About one-half of India is inter-tropical, comprising within its limits the three principal stations of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; in fact, all the country south of a line drawn from Burdwan on the east, through Bhopal, to the gulf of Cutch on the west—a distance from Cape Comorin of about 1,000 miles. All the region north of this line, and extending 800 miles from Cutch to Peshawur, is outside the tropic of Cancer: the area of the inter and extra-tropical territory is nearly alike. Mere distance from the equator will not convey an adequate idea of the climate of any district: other circumstances must be taken into account; such as elevation above the sea,—aspect in reference to the sun and the prevailing winds,—more or less vegetation,—radiation of terrestrial heat,—quantity of rain falling,* or siccidity of atmosphere,—proximity to snow-covered mountains or great lakes,—drainage, ventilation, &c.†—all these, varying in collateral existence or in degree of operation, cause a variety of climate and thermometrical range, which latitude will not indicate. Regions contiguous to the equator, at or near the sea-level, possess a high but equable temperature: the mercury, on Fahrenheit's scale, exhibits in the shade at Singapore, a flat island in $1^{\circ} 17' N.$, a heat of 73° to 87° throughout the year. As we recede from the equator north or south, a wider caloric range is experienced, not

only throughout the year, but within the limits of a single day. In the N. W. Provinces of India, and in the S.E. settlements of Australia, the mercury not unfrequently rises in the summer season to 90° and even 100° Fahr., and shows a fluctuation, in twenty-four hours, of 24° : but this extreme torridity—when the circumambient fluid seems to be aeriform fire—is but of brief duration. Animal and vegetable life are reinvigorated, for a large part of the year, by a considerably cooler atmosphere. Indeed, at New York and Montreal, I found the heat of June and July more intolerable than that of Jamaica or Ceylon; but then snow lies on the ground, at the former places, for several weeks in winter. Again, moisture with heat has a powerful and injurious effect on the human frame, though favourable to vegetation and to many species of animal life. Speaking from my own sensations, I have lain exhausted on a couch with the mercury at 80° Fahr., during the rainy season, in Calcutta, Bombay, and Hong Kong; and ridden through the burning forests of Australia, on the sandy Arabian plains, and over the sugar-cane plantations of Cuba, with the mercury at 100° Fahr. So, also, with reference to elevation: in the East and West Indies, at a height of several thousand feet above the sea, I have enjoyed a fire at night in June; and yet, in April and September, been scorched at mid-day in Egypt, Northern China, and Eastern Europe. These observations are made with a view of answering the oft-recurring inane question, without referring to any locality, "What sort of a climate has India?" In order, however, to

* The quantity of rain in the tropical or temperate zones is effected by the elevation of the land above the sea. In India the maximum fall is at 4,500 feet altitude; beyond this height it diminishes. This is shown by the present scientific chairman of the E. I. Co., Colonel Sykes, in his valuable *Meteorological Observations*: thus, on the western coast of India the fall is at sea-level (mean of seven levels)—inches, 81; at 150 ft. altitude (Rutnagherry in the Concan), 114; at 900 ft., Dapolee (S. Concan), 134; at 1,700 ft. (Kundala Pass, from Bombay to Poona), 141; at 4,500 ft. (Mahabulishwar—mean of 15 years, 254; at 6,200 ft. (Angusta Peak, Utray Mullay range), 194; at 6,100 ft. (Kotagherry, in the Neilgherries, one year), 81; at 8,640 ft. (Dodabetta, highest point of Western India, one year), 101 inches. The same principle is observable in the arid lofty table-land of Thibet, and in the contiguous elevated regions where rain seldom falls. So also in Chili and other parts of the Andes. The distinguished meteorologist, Dr. John Fletcher Miller, of Whitehaven, adduces evidence, in his interesting account of the Cumberland Lake District, to demonstrate the existence of a similar law in England, where he considers the

maximum fall of rain to be at the height of 2,000 feet.

† In 1829, I wrote and published in Calcutta a small brochure, entitled *The Effects of Climate, Food, and Drink on Man*. The essay was prepared in the hope of inducing the government to adopt sanitary measures for the drainage and ventilation of Calcutta, where cholera had become permanently located. I predicted that unless the *nidus* of this fearful malady were destroyed in the Indian cities by the purification of their respective atmospheres, the disease would be extensively generated and wafted with the periodical winds from Asia to Europe. The prognostication was ridiculed: sad experience may now perhaps induce corporations and citizens of large towns to adopt timely-effective sanitary measures. By so doing a healthy climate may everywhere be obtained; but no altitude or position will avail for the prevention of endemic diseases, or for lengthening the duration of life, wherever large masses of human beings are congregated, unless complete drainage, free circulation of air, and the removal of all putrescent animal and vegetable matter be made an urgent and daily duty.

TEMPERATURE & RAIN-FALL AT DIFFERENT DISTRICTS IN INDIA. 487

convey some idea of the thermometrical | different stations, the following table has
range, and the quantity of rain falling at | been collated from different sources:—

*Meteorological Monthly Observations for different parts of India; showing the Latitude, number of feet
above the level of the sea, average Thermometer, and Rain in inches.*

Places, Latitude, and Ele- vation above sea.	THERMOMETER.												Mean of Year.
	Jan	Feb.	March	April.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	
Calcutta, 22° 34', 18 ft. . .	69	73	78	87	88	83	82	82	82	82	71	67	79*
Madras, 13° 5', sea-level . .	78	78	82	88	92	87	88	86	86	84	82	78	83
Bombay, 18° 57', sea-level†	77	77	80	82	85	85	81	84	79	84	84	80	84
Tirhoot, 25° 26', 26° 42', little elevated	60	66	76	85	89	86	84	85	81	73	—	61	78
Goorgaon, 28° 28', 817 ft. . .	70	72	80	—	104	98	85	84	89	87	75	66	—
Delhi, 28° 41', 800 ft. . . .	53	62	70	79	82	82	82	80	80	73	62	56	72
Rajpootana, ‡ about 500 ft.	70	73	82	82	74	90	85	—	—	—	90	66	—
Nagpoor, 21° 10', 930 ft. . .	68	75	83	89	90	84	79	79	79	79	73	72	79
Hyderabad, 17° 22', 1,800 ft.	74½	76½	84	91½	93	88	81	80½	79	80	76½	74½	81½
Bangalore, 12° 58', 3,000 ft.	71	73	79	78	79	75	74	74	74	71	71	70	74
Hawilbagh, 29° 38', 3,887 ft.	47	55	61	60	73	76	78	79	75	69	60	52	—
Kotagherry, 11° 27', 6,100 ft.	59	60	61	62	62	64	64	65	64	62	60	59	61
Ootacamund, 11° 24', 7,300 ft.	54	56	60	64	64	59	56	56	56	56	55	53	57
Mussoorie, 30° 27', 6,282 ft.	—	—	—	—	77	70	68	68	67	61	56	—	—
Landour, 30° 27', 7,579 ft. .	41	46	55	65	68	66	68	66	64	57	46	47	—
Darjeeling, 27° 2', 8,000 ft.	40	42	50	55	57	61	61	61	59	58	50	43	53
RAIN IN INCHES.													
Calcutta	0.05	0.48	1.77	3.52	12.86	3.04	12.44	8.15	8.19	3.68	0.06	2.57	56.61
Nagpoor	0.40	0.50	3.84	1.01	0.21	6.25	14.93	7.51	16.32	—	2.89	0.13	53.99§
Bangalore	—	—	35	4.16	5.89	3.24	5.88	4.13	13.97	5.10	1.30	—	—
Kotagherry	2	3	6	10	2	2	4	2	2	10	2	5	50
Ootacamund	1	1	2	5	6	8	7	6	7	9	5	3	60
Darjeeling	1	—	1	2	9	26	25	29	15	8	—	—	122

The monsoons or prevailing winds within the tropics, as on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, are denominated the *South-west* and the *North-east*; but owing to modifying circumstances, the direction is in several places changed: at Arracan, the S.W. blows more frequently from the S., and the N.E. more to the W. of N. Lower Bengal, including the country around Calcutta, has a climate more trying than that of any other part of India. November, December, and January are tolerably cool, and Europeans may walk out during the day. In February, March, April, and May, the heat daily

increases, until, during the last month especially, it becomes almost intolerable; not a cloud appears in the heavens to mitigate the burning rays of the sun, which seem to penetrate into the very marrow of an European. I have known men and beasts to drop dead in the streets of Calcutta. When the monsoon is on the eve of changing, before the *chota bursaut* (little rain) set in, the nights as well as the days are oppressive; respiration becomes laborious, and all animated nature languishes: the horizon assumes a lurid glare, deepening to a fiery red; the death-like stillness of the

* Abstract of the mean annual summaries of a meteorological register kept at Calcutta, for ten years:—

Years.	Sunrise.	2.40 P.M.	Sunset.
1841	72.7	89.0	82.4
1842	73.3	88.0	82.1
1843	73.3	87.6	82.5
1844	72.7	87.6	82.3
1845	73.7	86.9	82.3
1846	74.3	86.3	81.9
1847	73.2	86.1	81.1
1848	74.1	87.4	82.5
1849	73.6	86.7	81.8
1850	73.1	86.1	81.4
Mean	73.4	87.2	82.0

The annual fall of rain at Calcutta, during six years, commencing with 1830, averaged 64 inches. In the wet season evaporation is very slight.

† Amount of rain at Bombay for six years:—

Inches.	Inches.
1845 54.73	1848 73.42
1846 87.48	1849 118.88
1847 67.31	1850 47.78

Average annual fall during thirty years, 76.08 inches. At Madras, average for eight years, 66.59 inches.

‡ Between lat. 26° 54', and lat. 29° 23'.—(Boileau's *Tour in Rajwara*, pp. 304—317.)

§ Situation, about 350 m. from nearest part of Bay of Bengal, and 420 m. from Indian Ocean. In 1826, and in 1831, the fall of rain slightly exceeded 65 inches; the greatest registered fall was 72 inches, and that was in 1809. Average fall of rain for eight years, 48.10 inches. Proceeding westward towards the Ghauts and Indian Ocean, the rains become heavier until reaching Mahabulishwar, where the fall is probably unexampled in amount; in 1849 it was 294 inches. The mean annual quantity is 239 inches, of which 227 fell in the four monsoon months. The greatest annual fall was in 1834, when it amounted to 297 inches. Another report gives the mean annual fall, as deduced from the observation of ten years, at 229 inches; and the number of days on which rain falls, at 127.

air is occasionally broken by a low murmuring, which is responded to by the moaning of cattle: dense, dark masses of clouds roll along the Bay of Bengal, accompanied with occasional gusts of wind; streaks of lightning, after sunset, glimmer through the magazines where the electric fluid is engendered and pent up; the sky becomes obscured with mist, and lowering; next, broad sheets of lambent flame illumine each pitchy mass, until the entire heavens seem to be in a blaze; while peal after peal of thunder reverberates from cloud to cloud, like discharges of heavy artillery booming through cavernous hills, or along an amphitheatre of mountains; thin spray is scattered over the coast by the violence of the increasing gale,—the rain commences in large drops, augments to sheeted masses, and sweeps like a torrent from the sky; the surf roars along the beach,—the wind howls furiously, screaming or groaning piteously; and every element seems convulsed with the furious conflict: at length the S.W. monsoon gains the victory, and the atmosphere becomes purified and tranquil. The monsoon is felt with varying degrees of intensity at different parts of the coast; but at Madras and at Bombay the scene is one of awful grandeur. During the rains the air is saturated with moisture; and the pressure on each square inch of the human frame causes extreme lassitude and mental depression: along the sea-shore the pernicious effects are mitigated by a sea-breeze, called the "Doctor," which sets in about ten, A.M., and lasts until sunset. As the country is ascended above the ocean-level, varieties of climate are experienced; but on the plains of the Ganges and of the Indus, and in some parts of Central India, hot winds blow nearly equal in intensity to those which are felt in Australia. In few words, some idea may be conveyed of the climate of several districts:—

Bengal Proper,—hot, moist, or muggy for eight months—April to November; remainder cool, clear, and bracing.

Bahar,—cool in winter months: hot in summer; rain variable.

Oude,—fluctuating temperature and moisture; therm. range 28 to 112°; rain, 30 to 80 inches.

Benares,—mean temperature, 77°; winter cool and frosty sometimes; therm. at night, 45°, but in the day, 100°; rain variable—30 to 80 inches.

Agra,—has a wide range of temperature; in mid-winter night-frosts and hail-storms sometimes cut off the cotton crop and cover the tanks with ice; yet at noon in April, therm. reaches the height of 106° in the shade.

Ghazeepoor,—range in coldest months, 58 to 71°—April, 86 to 96°; May, 86 to 95°; June, 85 to 98°; July, 86 to 96°. In the *Dehra Doon*—range 37 to 101°. In the year 1841, December mean heat, 60°; June, 88°; whole year, 74°. In 1839, total fall of rain, 67 inches; of which in July, 15; August, 26.

Cuttack and opposite coast of Bay of Bengal,—refreshed by a sea-breeze blowing continuously from March to July.

Berar,—moderate climate, according to elevation.

Madras,—cold season of short duration in the Carnatic. Mercury in therm. higher than in Bengal, sometimes 100° Fahr. Heat tempered by the sea.

Arcot,—high temperature, 110° in the shade, sometimes 130° Fahr. Few sudden vicissitudes; storms infrequent.

Salem,—fluctuating climate—in January, 58 to 82°; March, 66 to 95°; May, 75 to 96°.

Trichinopoly,—has a steady high temperature, a cloudless sky, dry and close atmosphere, with much glare and intense radiation of heat.

Vizagapatam,—on the coast is hot, moist, and relaxing; inland equally sultry, but drier.

Bellary is characterised by great aridity; rain, 12 to 26 inches; therm. falls in January to 55 or 50°; thunder-storms frequent in summer months.

Cuddapah,—average max. temperature for several years (in the shade), 98°; minn., 65°; mean, 81°: mean temperature during monsoon, 77°; max., 89°.

Madura,—on the hills mild and genial in summer; therm. seldom below 50° or above 75°; in the plains, reaching 115° and even 130°.

Travancore,—owing to proximity of mountains, humid but not oppressive.

Mysoor,—table-land cool, dry, and healthy; at Bangalore (3,000 ft. high), therm. range from 56 to 82°. The monsoons which deluge the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, have their force broken by the Ghats on either side, and genial showers preserve the Mysorean verdure throughout the year.

Neilgherries,—the climate resembles that of the intertropical plateaux of America; at Ootacamund (height 7,300 ft.), mean temperature rather above that of London, but ann. range very small; not sufficient sunshine to bring the finer European fruits to perfection, but corn and vegetables thrive. Lower down the vales enjoy an Italian clime; at Coimbatore (height 4,483 ft.), during the cold season, max., 59°; minn., 31°; in April, average 65°; May, 64° Fahr.; there are no sultry nights, a blanket being acceptable as bed-covering in all seasons. In the higher regions, the air beyond the zone of clouds and mists is clear and dry, as evidenced by the great distance within which sound is heard, and by the buoyancy of the human frame.

Coorg is a bracing mountain region. Daily range, 2 to 6°; ann., 50 to 80° Fahr.; annual rain, at Mercara (4,500 ft.), 119 inches; in June, about 40 inches.

Malabar coast,—warm but agreeable; therm. 68 to 88° Fahr.; ann. rain, 120 to 130 inches.

Canura and the Concans,—beneath the Ghats are not, tropically speaking, unhealthy, except where marsh and jungle prevail, when malaria is produced.

Bombay,—tropical heat diminished by sea-breezes.

Broach,—December to March, cool; average rain, 33 inches.

In *Guzerat*, which is the hottest part of W. India, the westerly winds are burning in May, June, and July; temperature high for nine months; average fall of rain, 30 inches.

Mahratta country,—near the Ghauts the clouds are attracted from the Indian Ocean, and a profusion of rain falls for three or four weeks without intermission, but often not extending 30 m. to the E. or S.

The *Deccan* table-land is salubrious; at Sattara, mean ann. temperature, 66°. Even in September I enjoyed the air of Poona, as a great relief from the sultry heat of Southern China. Ann. range of therm., 37 to 94°; fall of rain, light and uncertain—22 to 30 inches; among the Ghauts, 300 inches. Proceeding westward towards the Ganges, and northward through *Central India* plateau, there is a modified temperature (at Meerut, therm. falls to 32° Fahr.), with occasional hot winds, which prevail as far as Sind and the Punjab. Sind is dry and sultry; at Kurachee, 6 or 8 inches rain; at Hyderabad, 2 inches; at Larkhana, farther north, there was no rain for three years. Mean max. temperature of six hottest months, 98° in the shade.

Punjab,—more temperate than Upper Gangetic plain; from November to April, climate fine; summer heat, intense; hot winds blow with great violence, and frequent dust-storms in May and June render the air almost unbreathable. Rains commence in July; August and September, sickly months. The Great Desert to the S. of the Punjab has a comparatively low temperature; at Bickaneer, in winter, ponds are frozen over in February; but in summer the heat is very great; therm. 110 to 120° in the shade.

Candeish has a luxurious climate like that of Malwa.

Upper Assam has a delightful temperature; the heat bearable, and the cold never intolerable. Mean temperature of four hottest months, about 80°; of winter, 57°; mean ann., 67°; heavy rains, which commence in March and continue to October. The quantity which falls is unequal; at Gowhatti, it is about 80; at Chirra Poonjee, 200; and in the Cossya country, 500 to 600 inches = 50 ft. At this latter place there fell in 1850, no less than 502 inches = 42 ft.; in August, 1841, there were 264 inches = 22 ft., in five successive days—30 inches every 24 hours. [Let it be remembered that the annual fall in London is 27; in Edinburgh, 24; in Glasgow, 32 inches.] The eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, to the Straits of Malacca, is more genial and agreeable than that of the Coromandel coast: the greatest heat is in April; therm., at Mergui, 100°; the monsoon is mild, but violent to the northward.

Lower Assam and Arracan are similar to Bengal.

This rapid sketch will indicate the variety of climates in India; but it is in the loftier adjoining regions that the greatest extremes exist.

The *Himalaya and Hindoo-Koosh* slopes and valleys exhibit a very varied temperature, and corresponding diversity of products, from the loftiest forest trees to the stunted lichens and mosses, when the last trace of vegetable life disappears as effectually as it does at the Arctic or Antarctic Poles, snow being equally perpetual at an elevation of four to five miles (20,840 to 25,000 ft.) above the sea, as at the extreme northern and southern parts of our globe. On the southern, or Indo-Gangetic side of the Himalaya, which rises like a wall from the sub-Himalaya, the snow-line commences at 12,000 to 13,000 ft. on some of the spurs or buttresses; on the northern side of the same range,—table-land of Tibet 10,000 ft. above the sea; the snow-line commences at 16,000 ft., but in some places is

not found at 20,000 ft. On the southern slope cultivation ceases at 10,000 ft.; but on the northern side, cultivation extends to 14,000 ft., where birch-trees flourish; the limit of furze-bushes is at 17,000 ft. Vegetation, to some extent, indicates the more or less severity of this mountain clime: the *Deodar* has its favourite abode at 7,000 to 12,000 ft.—attains a circumference of 30 ft., and of great stature, and the wood will last, exposed to the weather, for 400 years. Various species of magnificent pines have a range of 5,000 to 12,000 ft.; the arborescent rhododendron, every branchlet terminated by a gorgeous bunch of crimson flowers, spreads at 5,000 to 8,000 ft.; the horse-chesnut and yew commence at 6,000 ft., and end at 10,000 ft.; the oak flourishes at 7,000 to 8,000 ft.; maple, at 10,000 to 11,000 ft.; ash, poplar, willow, rose, cytissus, at 12,000; elm, at 7,000 to 10,000; birch commences at 10,000, ceases on S. slope at 13,000 ft.; on N. side fine forests of this tree at 14,000 ft. Juniper met with occasionally at latter-named height; the grape attains great excellence at Koonawur, 8,000 ft., but does not ripen beyond 9,000 ft.; the currant thrives at 8,000 and 9,000 ft.; apricot, at 11,000 ft.; gooseberry and raspberry, at 10,000 to 12,000 ft.

The decrement of heat in proportion to latitude and elevation is, as yet, imperfectly ascertained. Dr. Hooker* allows one degree of Fahrenheit's thermometer for every degree of latitude and every 300 ft. of ascent above the sea; at Calcutta, in 22° 34', the mean ann. temperature is about 79°; that of Darjeeling, in Sikhim, 27° 2'; 7,450 ft. above Calcutta, is 53°, about 26° below the heat of Calcutta. The decrease of temperature with elevation is much less in summer than in winter: in January, 1° = 250 ft., between 7,000 and 13,000 ft.; in July, 1° = 400 ft.; the decrement also less by day than by night. The decremental proportions of heat to height is roughly indicated by this skilful meteorologist—

1° = 300 ft.	at elevation	1,000 to 8,000 ft.
1° = 320 ft.	"	8,000 to 10,000 ft.
1° = 350 ft.	"	10,000 to 14,000 ft.
1° = 400 ft.	"	14,000 to 18,000 ft.

This must be effected by aspect and slope of elevation; by quantity of rain falling, and permeability of soil to moisture; by amount of cloud and sunshine, exposure of surface, absence of trees, undulation of the land, terrestrial radiation, and other local influences.

Within the tropics, in the northern hemisphere, the limits of perpetual congelation is 16,000 to 17,000 ft. above the sea; in lat. 30°, 14,000 ft.; in 40°, 10,000 ft.; in 50°, 6,000 ft.; in 60°, 5,000 ft.; in 70°, 1,000 ft.; and in 80° and further north, at the sea-level. In the southern hemisphere, Georgia, which is in lat. 56°, exhibits perpetual frost.

At Kumaon, winter rigour is moderated by great solar radiation, and somewhat tempered by contiguous snow-capped mountains, whence a diurnal current of air sets in as regularly as a sea-breeze on a tropical shore, and with a nearly equally invigorating effect. Snow commences to fall at the end of September, and continues until the beginning of April. During the absence of snow for five months, the mercury ranges at sunrise, 40 to 55°; at mid-day, 65 to 75° in the shade—90 to 110° Fahr. in the sun. The heat of course diminishes as height increases, except during the cold season. At Almora town, in 29° 30', 5,400 ft. elevation, the therm. before

* In his valuable work, *Himalayan Journals*, ii., 404.

sunrise is always lowest in the valleys, and the frost more intense than on the hills of 7,000 ft. elevation, while at noon the sun is more powerful; extreme range in 24 hours, sometimes from 18 to 51° Fahr. Snow does not fall equally in every season; the natives say the greatest fall is every third year. On the Ghagor range, between Almora and the plains, snow remains so late as the month of May. At Mussoorie, 6,000 to 7,000 ft. high, the mean ann. heat is only 57° Fahr.; indeed, at 4,000 ft. hot winds cease, and vegetation assumes an European character. Annual fall of rain at Almora, 40 to 50 inches.

The northernmost part of Nepaul valley, between 27 and 28°, and elevation of 4,000 ft., has a climate somewhat similar to that of the southern parts of Europe. In winter a hoar-frost commonly covers the ground, occasionally for three or four months, freezing the standing pools and tanks, but not severe enough to arrest the flow of rivers. In summer noon, the mercury stands at 80 to 87° Fahr. The seasons are very nearly like those of Upper Hindoostan; the rains set in earlier, and from the S.E. are usually very copious, and break up about October, causing excessive inundations in some places from the mountain torrents. In a few hours, the inhabitants, by ascending the sides of the enclosing mountains, may exchange a Bengal heat for a Siberian winter.

At Darjeeling the atmosphere is relatively more humid than at Calcutta; the belt of sandy and grassy land, at the foot of the Himalaya, only 300 ft. higher than in Calcutta, and 3½° N. of that city, is, during the spring months, March and April, 6 or 7° colder; and though there is absolutely less moisture in the air, it is relatively more humid; this is reversed after the rains commence. The south wind, which brings all the moisture from the Bay of Bengal, discharges annually 60 to 80 inches of rain in traversing 200 m. of land; but the temperature is higher in advancing north-west from the Bay of Bengal: which may be caused from the absence of any great elevation in the Gangetic valley and plain, and its being walled in to the northward by the Himalaya mountains.

Elevation causes in Afghanistan a corresponding diversity of climate: at Cabool, which is considered to be very salubrious, and 6,396 ft. above the sea, the air is warmer in summer and colder in winter than that of England; and the diurnal therm. range is great, amounting to 40°. June, July, and August are the hottest; December, January, and February the coldest months,—the mercury falling several degrees below zero Fahr.; but the sun possesses sufficient power at mid-day to melt the surface of the snow, which, however, is again frozen at night. The seasons are very regular; the sky is unclouded, the air bright and clear, with scarcely any rain; in November a few showers are followed by snow; and from the middle of March till the 1st of May, there is incessant rain, which melts the snow rapidly, and causes a sudden transition from winter to summer (with but little spring), when thunder and hail-storms occur; earthquakes are not unfrequent during winter in the immediate vicinity of the lofty ranges, but are said to be unknown at Candahar. Prevailing winds, N.N.W. and W.; E. seldom; winter, calm; variable at breaking up of the season.*

* Notes of observations, 1st April, 1838, to 31st March, 1840, in Afghanistan.—(*Calcutta Jour. Nat. Hist.*)

† The Choor district (valley of the Pabur, 4,800 feet)

Cashmere valley, by its elevation (5,000 ft.), has a cool climate; in winter the celebrated lake is slightly frozen over, and the ground covered with snow to the depth of 2 ft.; hottest months, July and August, therm. 80 to 85° at noon, when the air is sometimes oppressive from want of circulation.

But it is in the loftier regions that the peculiarities caused by altitude are most observable: at—

Bussahir,—the climate varies from that of the intertropical at Rampoor, 3,260 ft.† above the sea, to that of the region of perpetual congelation: in parts bordering on the table-land of Tartary the air is at one season characterised by aridity greater than that of the most scorching parts of the torrid zone. In October, and later in the year, when the winds blow with the greatest violence, woodwork shrinks and warps, and leather and paper curl up as if held to a fire; the human body exposed to those arid winds in a few minutes show the surface collapsed, and if long left in this condition life becomes extinct. Vegetation with difficulty struggles against their effects. Gerard found tracts exposed to them to have a most desolate and dreary aspect; not a single tree, or blade of green grass, was distinguishable for near 30 m., the ground being covered with a very prickly plant, which greatly resembled furze in its withered state. This shrub was almost black, seeming as if burnt; and the leaves were so much parched from the arid winds of Tartary, that they might be ground to powder by rubbing them between the hands. Those winds are generally as violent as hurricanes, rendering it difficult for the traveller to keep his feet. The uniform reports of the inhabitants represent the year as continual sunshine, except during March and April, when there are some showers, and a few clouds hang about the highest mountains; but a heavy fall of rain or snow is almost unknown. The excessive cold and aridity on the most elevated summits cause the snow to be there so light, loose, and powdery, that it is continually swept like smoke through the air by the tempestuous winds. The limit of perpetual congelation in Bussahir ascends to the northward.

The direct rays of the sun are extremely hot at great elevations: insomuch, that Jacquemont found the stones on the ground on the table-land of Tartary, at an elevation of 15,000 or 16,000 ft., become so hot in sunshine, as to be nearly unbearable by the hand; at an elevation of 18,000 ft., Gerard found the rays of the sun so oppressive that he was obliged to wrap his face in a blanket.

At *Bult* or *Little Tibet* the atmosphere is very clear and dry. But though rain is almost unknown, snow falls, and lies from the depth of 1 to 2 ft. The cold in the elevated parts is intense in winter; on the high and unsheltered table-land of Deotsuh, it at that season totally precludes the existence of animal life. The heat in the lower parts in summer is considerable, the therm.‡ ranging from 70 to 90° in the shade at noon.

At *Ladakh* the climate is characterised by cold and excessive aridity. The snow-line is so usually high in Spiti and Ruphsu, at the south-eastern extremity of Ladakh, as to show the utter futility of attempting to theorise respecting the so-called isothermal lines, in the present scanty and imperfect state of our information as to the data from is a beautiful and fertile tract, with a delightful climate.

‡ Thornton's *Gazetteer: Afghanistan, &c.*, vol. i., p. 120.

which they should be determined. Gerard says, respecting Spiti, in lat. 32° , that the marginal limit of the snow, which, upon the sides of Chimborazo, occurs at 15,700 ft., is scarcely permanent in Thibet at 19,000, and upon the southward aspect has no well-defined boundary at 21,000 ft.; and one summit, 22,000 ft. high, was seen by him to be free of snow on the last day in August. This absence of snow probably results, in part, from the very small quantity of moisture kept suspended in the highly rarefied atmosphere, in part from the intense heat of the direct rays of the sun, the latter cause being in some degree dependent on the former. "Wherever we go," observes Gerard, "we find the sun's rays oppressive." In one instance, in the beginning of September, at an elevation of 15,500 ft., a thermometer, resting upon the rocks, marked 158° ; in another, at 14,500 ft., the instrument, placed on sand, marked 130° ; and in a small tent, at an elevation of 13,000 ft., it indicated 110° . These phenomena he attributed to the rarefaction and tenuity of the atmosphere, from elevation and the absence of moisture,—circumstances which allow of such immediate radiation of heat, that at the same moment there will be a difference of more than 100° between places only a few hundred yards asunder, occasioned by the one receiving, and the other being excluded, from the direct rays of the sun. At Ruphsu, at the elevation of 16,000 ft., it freezes every night, even at Midsummer; but the heat of the day so far countervails the cold of night, that the Lake Chamoreuil is free from ice during the summer months. At Le, having an elevation of about 10,000 ft., frosts, with snow and sleet, commence early in September and continue until May; the therm. from the middle of December to February, ranges from 10 to 20° ; even in June, the rivulets are often, at night, coated with ice. Moorcroft, during his Himalayan travels, found the therm., when exposed to the sun's rays at mid-day in July, to range from 134 to 144° . The atmosphere is in general dry in all parts of the country.

In the works of Gerard, Lloyd, Moorcroft, Vigue, Jacquemont, and Hooker, useful details are given on the meteorology of these lofty regions.

The climate of India is not inimical to the European constitution: that of Bengal and other low districts is very trying, especially to those who do not follow a strictly temperate course in all things; but there are many instances of Englishmen living for a quarter of a century at Calcutta, and on returning to England, enjoying another quarter of a century of existence, preserving, to old age, a vigorous mental and bodily frame.* In the hot and moist parts of India, abdominal diseases,—in the warm and dry, hepatic action or congestion prevail. Exposure at night, especially to malaria or the effluvia arising from intense heat and decomposing vegetable and animal matter, causes a bilious remittent (popularly called

jungle fever), which operates as a poison on the human system, and becomes rapidly fatal if not counteracted by mercury or some other poison, or unless the morbid matter be expelled, and the patient have strength of frame to survive the fever.

The direct rays of a nearly vertical sun, and even those also of the moon, cause affections of the brain which are frequently fatal; and when not so, require removal to the temperate zone for their relief. The establishment of sanatoria at elevated and healthy positions, has proved a great benefit to Anglo-Indians, who at Darjeeling, Simla, Landour, Mussoorie, Mount Aboo, the Neilgherries, and other places, are enabled to enjoy a European temperature and exercise,—to check the drain on the system from the cutaneous pores being always open,—to brace the fibres and tone the nerves, which become gradually relaxed by the long continuance of a high temperature. As India becomes more clear and cultivated, and facilities for locomotion by railroads and steam-boats are augmented, the health of Europeans will improve, and their progeny will derive a proportionate benefit: but it is doubtful whether there is any part of the country where a European colony would *permanently* thrive, so as to preserve for successive generations the stamina and energy of the northern races.

The diseases that prevail among the Indians vary with locality: low, continued fever is most prevalent in flat, and rheumatism in moist regions. Leprosy and other skin disorders are numerous among the poorest classes. *Elephantiasis*, or swelling of the legs; *berri-berri*, or enlargement of the spleen; torpidity of the liver, weakness of the lungs, and ophthalmia, are common to all ranks and places: goitre is found among the hill tribes; cholera and influenza sometimes decimate large masses of the people. Numerous maladies, engendered by early and excessive sensuality, exist among rich and poor, and medical or surgical skill are consequently everywhere in great request. The inhabitants of India, generally speaking, except in the more elevated districts, have not the robust frames or well-wearing constitutions which result from an improved social state, or from the barbarism which is as yet free from the vices and defects of an imperfect civilisation: the inhabitants of the torrid zone do not enjoy a longevity equal to those who dwell in the temperate climates of the earth.

* Mr. W. C. Blaquiere, for a long period police magistrate at Calcutta, died there in 1854, æt. 95: he arrived at Bengal in 1774.

GEOLOGY.—It will require many more years of scientific research before an accurate geological map can be laid down for India.* Immense tracts covered with impenetrable forests,—the few Europeans in the country occupied with military and civil governmental duties,—the lassitude of mind and body which, sooner or later, oppresses the most energetic,—and the malaria which inevitably destroys those who attempt to investigate the crust of the earth, overrun with jungle, or immersed in swamp;—these, and other obstacles render the prosecution of this science a matter of extreme difficulty. All that can be attempted in a work of this nature is to collate the best known data, and arrange them in outline, for reference and future systematic exposition.†

Rerepresentatives of all the series found in Europe and other parts of the world, are traceable in India. Mr. Carter has industriously noted the observations of various investigators; and the following summary is partly abstracted from his compilation:—

OLDER METAMORPHIC STRATA.—*Gneiss, Mica Schiste, Chlorite Schiste, Hornblende Schiste, Quartz Rock, Micaceous Slate, Talcose Slate, Clay Slate, Granular Limestone.*

Gneiss.—Most general and abundant,—occurring in different parts of the Himalaya; Oodeypoor; near Baroda; Zillah Bahar; Rajmahal hills; Phoonda Ghaut; Northern Circars; and more or less throughout “peninsula” (? Deccan) to the Palghaut, and probably to Cape Comorin: it is frequently veined by granite, contains in most places specular iron ore: beds of garnets common everywhere; corundum in southern India, and beryl in Mysoor. Composition varied in texture, compactness, and with more or less mica; colour—speckled, black, brown, reddish gray to white; sometimes tinted green where chlorite replaces mica: when very fine-grained and decomposing, gneiss bears a close resemblance to fine-grained sandstone.

Mica Schiste.—Southern Mahratta country, and western extremities of Vindhya range, passes into micaceous slate at the Phoonda Ghaut: veined with quartz, but no granite: being associated with gneiss and hornblende schistes, they pass into each other.

Chlorite Schiste.—Southern Mahratta country: it also contains garnets.

* The late eminent geologist, J. B. Greenough, has made an excellent beginning by his large map on this subject, and by the voluminous materials he collected.

† See a valuable *Summary of the Geology of India, between the Ganges, the Indus, and Cape Comorin*; by H. J. Carter, Asst. Surg. Bombay Establishment, Aug., 1853: reprinted from *Journal of Bombay British Asiatic Society*, p. 156.

‡ In the neighbourhood of Calcutta a series of boring experiments to find water, were carried on at intervals between 1804 and 1833; the results were—artificial soil at surface; next, as follows: a light blue or gray-coloured sandy clay, becoming gradually darker from decayed vegetable matter, until it passes at 30 ft. deep into a 2 ft. stratum of black peat, apparently formed by the *debris* of Sunderbund vegetation, which was once the delta of the

Hornblende Schiste, forms the sides of the Neilgherries, where it is from five to seven miles in breadth: garnets found in it. Southern Mahratta country, Salem; and often passes into mica schiste on the Malabar coast.

Quartz Rock.—Hills between Delhi and Alwur, and between Ajmere and Oodeypoor; mountains around Deybur Lake, Chittoor, and at the western part of the Vindhya range, with mica slate; southern Mahratta country; more or less in the granitic plains of Hyderabad, and in the *droogs* of Mysoor. The rock is compact and granular in the Ajmere mountains; and of a red, violet, gray, or brown colour; brilliantly white in the Mahratta country. Mica is frequently disseminated throughout the rock in large masses; tale and chlorite, occasionally.

Micaceous Slate and Chlorite Slate.—Both at the Phoonda Ghaut; and the latter in the Mahratta country. The micaceous occurs in the Indo-Gangetic chain, Koonawur; and in, the Soolumbur range, Oodeypoor.

Clay Slate, appears to be of great thickness, and considerable extent, viz., from the Arravulli range, the lower part of which is composed of this formation; thence to Oodeypoor, *via* the Soolumbur range, across the Durgawud valley to Malwa, on the Kistnah; southern Mahratta country, Nellore; and in the Eastern Ghauts at Jungamanipenta, a ferruginous clay-slate overlies the trap at Mahabulishwar. In the Arravulli it is massive, compact, and of a dark blue colour. The Soolumbur range is almost entirely composed of this and chlorite slates. Micaceous passes into clay-slate at the Phoonda, and, farther south, the Saltoor passes (Western Ghauts.) This also occurs at the Carrackpoor hills (Bahar), where the clay-slate is about twenty miles wide, and extends in the direction of the strata.‡

PLUTONIC ROCKS.—*Granite, Diorite or Greenstone.*

Granite.—Himalaya; Ajmere and around Jeypoor, traversing the mountains in veins and dykes; the Arravulli range consists chiefly of granite, resting on slate; Mount Aboo; from Balmeer across the sands to Nuggur Parkur; the Gir; Girnar; between Oodeypoor and Malwa, are all varieties: it extends more or less southward to the Nerbudda; on that river between Mundela and Amarkantak, Jubbulpoor, Kalleenjnr, Zillah Bahar, Carrackpoor hills; in Bhagnipore and Monghyr districts; near Baitool; Nagpore territory; Cuttack; Orissa; Northern Circars; Hyderabad; between the Kistnah and Godavery; Gooty; Neilgherries; Malabar coast at Vingorla; Coromandel; between Madras and Pondicherry; ending at Cape Comorin. The granitic rocks vary in structure and composition, as they do in colour: thus there are *syenitic, pegmatitic, and protogenic*. It is gray at Ramteak in Nagpoor, red generally in

Ganges; below the peat a black clay, and in this and the gray clay immediately above the peat, logs and branches of yellow and red wood, found in a more or less decayed state. In one instance only bones were discovered, at 28 ft. deep. Under blue clays, at 50 to 70 ft. deep, *kunkur* and *bagiri* (apparently small land shells, as seen in Upper India.) At 70 ft. a seam of loose reddish sand,—75 to 125 ft. beds of yellow clay predominate, frequently stiff and pure like potter's clay, but generally mixed with sand and mica: horizontal strata of kunkur pass through it, resembling exactly those found at Midnapoor. Below 128 ft. a more sandy yellow clay prevails, which gradually changes to a gray, loose sand, becoming coarser in quality to the lowest depth yet reached (176 ft.), where it contains angular fragments, as large as peas, of quartz and felspar.

the Deccan, but at Vencatigherry (Mysoor), and at Vingorla, gray: in the Neilgherries it is syenitic.

Greenstone.—Hazareebagh, Mahratta country, Mysoor, Nellore, Chingleput, Madras, Trichinopoly, Salem, in the granitic plains of Hyderabad; and extensively throughout Southern India. In the Deccan the dykes may be traced continuously for twenty miles; about Hyderabad they are from 100 to 300 feet broad; about four miles from Dhonee, between Gooty and Kurnool, there is one 150 feet high, and 200 feet broad, passing through a range of sandstone and limestone mountains.

SILURIAN ROCKS.—*Greywacke*.—Ghiddore, Rajmahal hills; Kumaon. It is a quartzose sandstone; yellow colour, resinous lustre, and compact splintery fracture.

Transition or Cambrian Gneiss, is of great extent in Bhagulpore district, composing two-thirds of the country between the Curruckpore and Rajmahal hills, and the greater portion of the southern ridges of the latter group. It consists of quartz, more or less, hornblende, felspar, mica, and garnet pebbles.

OOLITIC.—*Limestone*.—Cutch; near Neemuch, Malwa; Bundelcund; on the river Sone; Ferozabad, on the Bheema; Kuladgee, in the southern Mahratta country; on the Kistnah; and as far south as Cuddapah. Though its principal characters are its uniform lithographic texture, solidity, conchoidal smooth fracture, and hardness,—dendritic surface, smoky gray colour, passing into dark smoky blue; and parallel thin stratification,—it differs when departing from its general composition, just as the shales differ which interlaminate it, the coal strata, and the sandstone, as being more or less argillaceous, bituminous, or quartziferous; of different degrees of hardness, coarseness, and friability of structure; and of all kinds of colours, streaked and variegated. It is occasionally veined, and interlined with jasper and light-coloured cherts, which, near Cuddapah, give it a rough appearance; also contains drusy cavities, calcedonies, and cornelian, north of Nagpoor: in the bed of the Nerbudda between Lamaita and Beragurh, near Jubbulpore, of a snow-white colour, and traversed by chlorite schiste. It is frequently denuded of its overlying sandstone and shales in Southern India, and in this state is not uncommonly covered by trap, as near Ferozabad on the Bheema.

Thickness, 310 feet near Kurnool; 10 to 30 feet on the Bheema, with strata from 2 inches to 2 feet thick. In the part of the Himalaya examined by Captain Strachey, the secondary limestones and shales were several thousand feet in thickness, the upper portion being in some places almost made up of fragments of shells.

If the white crystalline marble generally of India is allowed to be metamorphic strata, this limestone exists in the Girnar rock of Kattywar; the lithographic form in Cutch, and between Neemuch and

Chittore; the white marble about Oodeypoor, and northwards in the neighbourhood of Nusseerabad, Jeypoor, Bessona, and Alwar; a narrow strip about 150 m. long in Bundelcund; again about Bidjyghur and Rhotasghur on the Sone; white marble in the bed of the Nerbudda, near Jubbulpore; in the hills north-east of Nagpoor; near the junction of the Godavery and Preheta rivers; thence along the Godavery more or less to Rajahmundry; Sholapoor district; on the Bheema; of every variety of colour, and greatly disturbed and broken up about Kaludgee, in the southern Mahratta country; along the Kistnah, from Kurnool to Amarawatee; and more or less over the triangular area formed by the latter place, Gooty, and the Tripetty hills. Chunam, an argillaceous limestone, used for building in Bengal, Bahar, Benares, &c.;* occurs in nodules in the alluvium, which, at Calcutta, is 500 to 600 feet thick. Near Benares, it contains fragments of freshwater shells. South of Madras, a dark clay abounds in marine shells, used in preference for lime-burning to those on the beach, as being freer from salt.

Sandstone,—appears to be composed of very fine grains of quartz, and more or less mica, united together by an argillaceous material. It exists in Cutch; in the Panna range, Bundelcund; the Kymore hills; Ceded Districts; in lat 18°, 15 m. west of the Godavery; on the banks of the Kistnah; plains of the Carnatic, and the districts watered by the Pennar river. It is present in the sub-Himalaya range, and in the Rajmahal hills. All the towns on the Jumna, from Delhi to Allahabad, appear to be built of this sandstone. The plains of Beekaneer, Joudpore, and Jessulmere, are covered with the loose sand of this formation. It borders on the northern and western sides of the great trapean tract of Malwa, and forms the north-eastern boundary of the Western India volcanic district.

Its thickness varies, either from original inequality, or subsequent denudation. Its greatest depth, at present known, is in the eastern part of the Kymore range, where it is 700 feet at Bidjyghur; and 1,300 feet at Rhotasghur; at the scarps of the waterfalls over the Panna range, it does not exceed 360 or 400 feet; from 300 to 400 feet is its thickness near Ryelcherroo and Sundrogam, in the Ceded Districts. Its greatest height above the sea is on the banks of the Kistnah, 3,000 feet. Organic remains are very abundant in this formation. It has been ascertained that the great trap deposit of the Western Ghauts, rests on a sandstone containing vegetable remains, chiefly ferns.

VOLCANIC ROCKS.†—*Trap*.—The largest tract is on the western side of India, and extends continuously from the basin of the Malpurba to Neemuch in Malwa; and from Balsar, about 20 m. south of the mouth of the Taptee, to Nagpoor. This is probably the most remarkable trap-formation existing on

* The British Residency at Hyderabad (Deccan) is a specimen; the Corinthian columns, &c., being executed in white chunam.

† Volcanic fires are said by the natives to exist among the loftier peaks of the Hindoo-Koosh and the Himalayan ranges, but earthquakes are of rare occurrence. A severe one was, however, experienced throughout a large extent of country on 26th August, 1833,—vibration from N.E. to S.W., with three principal shocks: first at 6:30 P.M.; second, 11:30 P.M.; and third, at five minutes to midnight. It was most severely felt at and near Katmandoo, where about 320 persons perished: the trembling of the earth commenced gradually, and then travelled with the rapidity of lightning towards the westward; it increased

in violence until the houses seemed shaken from their foundations,—large-sized trees bent in all directions; the earth heaved fearfully; and while the air was perfectly calm, an awful noise burst forth as if from an hundred cannon. Probably in India, as in Australia, subterranean igneous action, which was formerly very violent, is now almost quiescent, or finds its vent through mighty chimneys at a height of four or five miles above the sea. The Lunar Lake, 40 m. from Saulna, is a vast crater 500 ft. deep, and nearly 5 m. round the margin; its waters are green and bitter, supersaturated with alkaline carbonate, and containing silex and some iron in solution: the mud is black, and abounds with sulphuretted hydrogen; the water is, nevertheless, pure and void of smell.

the surface of the globe; its breadth is about 335 m. N. to S.; length, about 350 m. E. to W.; and covers an area of from 200,000 to 250,000 sq. m.* Another portion extends from Jubbulpoor to Amarkantak, thence south-westerly towards Nagpoor. It constitutes the core of the Western Ghats, and predominates in the Mahadeo and Sautpoora mountains.

Its two grand geological features along the Ghats, where it has attained the highest elevation, are flat summits and regular stratification. Fourteen beds have been numbered in Malwa, the lowest and largest of which is 300 feet thick. These are equally numerous, if not more so, along the Ghats, but the scarps are of much greater magnitude. Besides its stratification, it is in many places columnar; as in the beds of the Nerbudda and Chumbul; and the hill-fort of Singhur presents a surface of pentagonal divisions.

Wherever the effusions exist to any great extent, they appear to be composed of *tertite* above, then *basalt*, and afterwards *trappite* and *amygdaloid*.

Basalt.—There are two kinds of this rock; a dark blue-black, and a brown-black. Both are semi-crystalline. Their structure is massive, stratified, columnar, or prismatic. Dark blue is the basalt of Bombay Island, brown-black that of the Deccan.

To this general description, I may add what I have been enabled to glean of the specific structure of some of the principal positions:—

Himalayas.—Formations primary: the first strata, which is towards the plain, consists of limestone, lying on clay-slate, and crowned by slate, greywacke, or sandstone. Beyond the limestone tract, gneiss, clay-slate, and other schistose rocks occur; granite arises in the mountains near the snowy ranges. The peaks are generally composed of schistose rocks, but veined by granite to a great elevation. Kamet, however, is an exception, appearing to consist of granite alone. Greenstone dykes rise through and intersect the regular rocks. Strata fractured in all directions; slate, as if crushed, and the limestone broken into masses. The soil is principally accumulated on the northern side.

The formation of the Indo-Gangetic chain, in Koonawur, is mostly gneiss and mica-slate; in some places, pure mica. On the left bank of the Sutlej, granite prevails, forming the Raldang peaks. Further north, it becomes largely intermixed with mica-slate; to the north-east changes into secondary limestone, and schistose rocks, abounding in marine exuvie.† In Kumaon, the Himalayas are composed of crystalline gneiss, veined by granite; the range forming the north-eastern boundary, is believed to be of recent formation. The mountainous tract south of the principal chain in Nepaul consists of limestone,

* The rock in which the Ellora caves are excavated is said to be a basaltic trap, which, from its green tinge and its different stages from hardness to disintegration, is supposed by the natives to be full of vegetable matter, in a greater or less advance to putrefaction: the crumbling rock affords a natural green colour, which is ground up and employed in painting on wet chunam (lime plaster.)

† Dr. Gerard found some extensive tracts of shell formation 15,000 ft. above the sea. The principal shells comprised cockles, mussels, and pearl-fish; nummulites and long cylindrical productions. These shells, of which many were converted into carb. of lime, some crystallised like marble, were lying upon the high land in a bed of granite, and pulverised state: the adjacent rocks com-

posed of hornstone, and conglomerate. The Sewalik (the most southerly and lowest range of the Himalayan system) is of alluvial formation, consisting of beds of clay, sandstone with mica, conglomerate cemented by calcareous matter, gravel, and rolled stones of various rocks. The supposition is, that it is the *debris* of the Himalaya, subsequently upheaved by an earthquake. The geology of the Sewalik is characterised by the occurrence of quantities of fossil remains.

Punjab.—Near the north-east frontier, in the vicinity of the Himalaya, is an extensive tract of rocks and deposits of recent formation; limestone, sandstone, gypsum, argillaceous slate; occasionally veins of quartz.

The Salt-range.—Greywacke, limestone, sandstone, and red tenaceous clay, with deposits of chloride of sodium, or common salt.

The Sufed-Koh is *primary*, consisting of granite, quartz, mica, gneiss, slate, and primary limestone.

The Suliman mountains are of *recent* formations, principally sandstone and secondary limestone, abounding in marine exuvie.

Central India.—Arravulli range, generally primitive, consisting of granite, quartz, and gneiss. Formation along banks of upper course of Nerbudda, trappean; lower down, at Jubbulpoor, granitic; at Bhera Ghur, channel contracted between *white* cliffs of magnesian limestone; at the junction of the Towah, there is a ledge of *black* limestone: at, and near Kal Bhyru, slate of various sorts; basaltic rocks scattered over channel. Ranges enclosing Nemaun, banks of rivers, and eminences in the valley, basaltic. Saugor and Nerbudda territory; eastern part, towards Amarkantak, generally sandstone; from here it extends westward, forming the table-land bounding Nerbudda valley on the north, and is intermixed with marl, slate, and limestone. The volcanic tract commences about lon. 79°, and extends to about the town of Saugor, which is situate on its highest part. This (trap), with that of sandstone, further east, may be considered to belong to the Vindhya; and the former to the Mahadeo and Sautpoora ranges. In some places, primitive rocks appear through the overlying bed. The Bindyachal hills are of horizontally-stratified sandstone; Panna hills, sandstone, intermixed with schiste and quartz; and, to the west, overlaid by limestone.

Western Ghats.—The great core is of primary formation, inclosed by alternating strata of more recent origin. These have been broken up by prodigious outbursts of volcanic rocks; and from Mahabulishwar northward, the overlying rock is exclusively of the trap formation; behind Malabar they are of primitive trap, in many places overlaid by immense masses of laterite, or iron-clay. The Vurragherry or Pulnai hills (Madura) are gneiss, stratified with quartz; in some places precipices of granite.

Nagpoor.—North-western and western part, composed of shell limestone, the large blocks composed of a multitude of shells of different sizes, imbedded in a mass of calcareous tufa. Four classes of shell formation were distinguished; one in particular, a freshwater bivalve, resembling the *unio*, which exists in great abundance at the foot of the lower hills and throughout the Dooab. In the Neermal hills, N. of the Godavery, on the road from Hyderabad to Nagpoor, many very perfect fossil shells, mostly bivalves, and evidently marine, have been discovered imbedded in a volcanic rock, together with the head and vertebrae of a fish: the formations around rest everywhere on granite; and there are several hot-springs holding lime in solution. Univalves and bivalves, particularly buccinum, ammonites, and mussels, abound in Malwa.

canic, principally basalt and trap. This terminates at the city of Nagpoor, and the primitive, mostly granite and gneiss, rises to the surface.

Mysoor.—The *droogs*, huge isolated rocks, scattered over the surface; vary in elevation from 1,000 to 1,500 feet; bases seldom exceeding 2 m. in circumference; generally composed of granite, gneiss, quartz, and hornblende; in many places overlaid by laterite.

SOIL,—mainly determined by the geological character of each district, except in the deltas, or on the banks of rivers, as in the Punjab, where an alluvium is accumulated. The land in Lower Bengal is of inexhaustible fertility, owing partly to the various salts and earthy limestone with which the deposits from the numerous rivers are continually impregnated: it is generally of a light sandy appearance. The alluvium of Scinde is a stiff clay; also that of Tanjore, Sumbulpore, and Cuttack, by the disintegration of granitic rocks. A nitrous (saltpetre) soil is general in Bahar; in the vicinity of Mirzapoor town, it is strongly impregnated with saline particles; and at many places in Vizagapatam. The *regur*, or cotton ground, which extends over a large part of Central India, and of the Deccan, is supposed to be formed by a disintegration of trap rocks; it slowly absorbs,* and long retains moisture; and it has produced, in yearly succession, for centuries, the most exhausting crops. It spreads over the tablelands of the Ceded Districts and Mysoor, flanks the Neilgherry and Salem hills, and pervades the Deccan, but has not been observed in the Concaus. It is a fine, black, argillaceous mould, containing, in its lower parts, nodules, and pebbly alluvium. *Kunkur* (a calcareous conglomerate)† fills up the cavities and fissures of the beds beneath it; and angular fragments of the neighbouring rocks are scattered over its surface. It contains no fossils. In some parts it is from 20 to 40 feet thick. *Kunkur* is common in the north-western provinces, the rocks often advancing into the channel of the Jumna, and ob-

structing the navigation. In the western part of Muttra district, it is mixed with sand: in Oude, some patches of this rock, which undergo abrasion very slowly, stand 70 or 80 feet above the neighbouring country, which, consisting of softer materials, has been washed away by the agency of water. Its depth, in the eastern part of Meerut district, is from one to 20 feet. In the Dooab, between the Ganges and Jumna, and in many parts of the N.W. provinces, there is a light rich loam, which produces excellent wheat; at Ghazeepore, a light clay, with more or less sand, is favourable for sugar and for roses. As the Ganges is ascended before reaching Ghazeepore, the soil becomes more granitic, and is then succeeded by a gravel of burnt clay, argite, and cinders, resembling what is seen in basaltic countries. Assam, which has been found so well adapted for the culture of tea, has for the most part a black loam reposing on a gray, sandy clay; in some places the surface is of a light yellow clayey texture. The soil usually found in the vicinity of basaltic mountains is of a black colour, mixed with sand. Disintegrated granite, where felspar predominates, yields much clay.

A sandy soil exists in the centres of the *Dooabs*, of the Punjab; more or less in Paniput, Rhotuck, and Hurriana districts: Jeypoor, Machery, and Rajpootana; and in some parts of Scinde; in Mysoor, a brown and rather sandy earth prevails; Trichinopoly is arid and sandy; and near Tavoy town, on the E. side of the Bay of Bengal, there is a large plain, covered with sand.

The soil of Nagpoor, in some tracts, is a black, heavy loam, loaded with vegetable matter; red loam is found in Salem and in Mergui.

Tinnevely has been found well suited for the cotton plant, and the substance in which it delights looks like a mixture of lime, rubbish, and yellowish brickdust, intermixed with nodules of *Kunkur*.‡ A chymical analysis of three of the best cotton soils in these districts, gives the following result:§—

Cotton Soils.	Vegetable matter.	Saline and Extractive.	Iron.			Carb. lime.	Magnesia.	Alumina.	Silic.	Water and loss.	Remarks.
			Prottox.	Deutox.	Tritox.						
Bundelcund	2.00	0.33	—	7.75	—	11.90	trace	3.10	74.0	1.00	{ No peat or lignite; nothing soluble in cold water; silic in fine powder; kunkur in the gravel. Gravel, mostly silic, with some felspar, but no kunkur. Gravel, almost wholly kunkur; some carb. iron; half the soil of gravel.
Coimbatore	2.30	traces	4.00	—	—	7.50	trace	2.80	82.80	0.60	
Tinnevely	0.15	0.20	—	—	2.88	19.50	0.15	2.00	74.00	1.12	

Guzerat is generally termed the Garden of Western India. With the exception of Kattywar, and to the eastward of Broach, it is one extensive plain, comprising many different soils; the chief varieties being

* All the soils of India have, in general, a powerful absorbing quality; hence their fertile properties.

† *Kunkur*.—A calcareous concretion, stratified and in mammillated masses of all sizes, which contains 50 to 80 per cent. of carbonate of lime, some magnesia, iron, and alumina: these nodules are interspersed in large quantities throughout extensive tracts of the alluvial and secondary formations, and are ascribed to the action of calcareous springs, which are of frequent occurrence.

‡ It is curious to note, in different countries, how plants

the black or cotton soil, and the *gorat*, or light grain-producing soil.¶ The former is chiefly confined to Broach and part of Surat N. of the Taptee; the latter prevails throughout Baroda, Kaira, and part

seem to vary in their feeding: thus, at Singapore, the best cotton soil *apparently* consists of large coarse grains of white sand, mixed with something like rough charcoal-dust, and with fragments of vegetables and mosses of all sorts. A somewhat similar substance, mingled with shells and decayed vegetable matter, is the favourite *habitat* of the Sea Island cotton of Georgia, U. S.

§ See an interesting *Essay on the Agriculture of Hindoostan*, by G. W. Johnston.

¶ See Mackay's valuable *Report on Western India*, p. 41.

of Ahmedabad, becoming more mixed with sand to the northward; black soil abounds to the westward of the Gulf, and in many of the Kattywar valleys. The numerous vegetable products of India attest the variety of soils which exist there.

MINERALS.—Various metals have been produced and wrought in India from the earliest ages: the geological character of the different districts indicates their presence. So far as we have yet ascertained, their distribution is as follows:—

Iron.—Ladakh.—Mines in the north-eastern part of the Punjab,* and in almost every part of Kumaon, where the requisite smelting processes are performed; though on a small scale, and in a rude and inefficient manner. Mairwarra; in veins, and of good quality, believed to be inexhaustible. Rajmahal; in gneiss. Lalgang, 16 miles south-west of Mirzapoor city. Kuppudgode hills; in schistes, quartz, and gneiss: on the north-east side, one stratum of iron, 60 feet thick. Ramghur—hills abounding in iron, though not of the best quality. Hazareebagh, in gneiss—flinty brown colour, pitchy lustre, and splintery fracture; 20 feet thick. Various parts of Palamow district; at Singra in inexhaustible quantities. Eastern part of Nagpoor territory. Mine of good quality at Tendukhera, near Jubbulpoor (were the navigation of the Nerbudda available, this would prove a most useful article of export for railways.) Western extremity of Vindhya; in gneiss. Southern Mahratta country; in quartz: micaceous and magnetic iron-ore occur in the same district; in clay-slate. In all the mountains of the Western Ghats; in Malabar; in veins, beds, or masses, in the laterite (here extensively smelted.) Salem, southern part (yields 60 per cent. of the metal fit for castings.) Nellore district. In many places in Masulipatam. Rajahmundry; in sandstone hills. Vizagapatam. Abundant in many parts of Orissa. Tenasserim provinces; occurs in beds, veins, and in rocks. Between the Saluen and Gyne rivers, it is found in sandstone hills. Most abundant between Ye and Tavoy, approximating the sea-coast; the best is at a short distance north of Tavoy town: it is there in two forms—common magnetic iron-ore; and massive, in granular concretions, crystallized, splendid, metallic, highly magnetic, and with polarity. The ore would furnish from 74 to 80 per cent. raw iron. In various places the process of smelting is rudely performed by the natives, but they produce a metal which will bear comparison with the best Swedish or British iron.†

Tin.—Oodeypoor,—mines productive. On the

* Colonel Steinbach says that the mineral wealth of the Punjab is considerable; that mines of gold, copper, iron, plumbago, and lead abound, and that "properly worked they would yield an enormous revenue."

† The natives of Cutch make steel chain-armour, sabres, and various sharp edge tools from their iron; the horse-shoes are excellent—the metal being more malleable, and not so likely to break as the English iron.

‡ The gray ore found in Dohnpur affords 30 to 50 per cent. of copper; it is associated with malachite, and contained in a compact red-coloured dolomite: hence mining operations can be carried on without timbering or masonry.

§ Mines discovered by Dr. Heyne, near Wangapadu. "A footpath, paved with stones, led up the hill to the place which was shown me as one of the mines. It is situated two-thirds up the hill, and might be about 400 ft.

banks of the Barakur, near Palamow; in gneiss. Tenasserim provinces. Tavoy, rich in tin-ore; generally found at the foot of mountains, or in hills: Pakshan river; soil in which the grains are buried, yields 8 or 10 feet of metal; at Tavoy, 7 feet: of superior quality in the vicinity of Mergui town.

Lead.—Ladakh. Koonawur. Ajmere; in quartz rocks. Mairwarra. Eastern part of Nagpoor. In the vicinity of Hazareebagh. Eastern Ghats at Jungamanipenta; in clay-slate—mines here. Amherst province. Fine granular galena obtained in clay-slate, and clay limestone on the Touser, near the Dehra-Doon.

Copper.—Ladakh. Koonawur, in the valley of the Pabur. Kumaon, near Pokree; but these mines are almost inaccessible, and the vicinity affords no adequate supply of fuel for smelting: others at Dohnpur,‡ Dhobri, Gangoli, Sira, Khori, and Shor Gurang. Mairwarra. Oodeypoor; abundant,—it supplies the currency. Southern Mahratta country, in quartz; also in a talcose form. Vencatigherry, North Arcot. Nellore district.§ Sullivan's and Calagkiank Islands, in the Mergui Archipelago. This metal is most probably extensively distributed, and of a rich quality.

Silver.—In the tin mines of Oodeypoor. In the lead mine, near Hazareebagh, and other places.

Gold.—Sands of Shy-yok, Tibet. Ditto Chenab, Huroo, and Swan rivers, Punjab. Ditto Aluknunda, Kumaon. Throughout the tract of country W. of the Neilgherries, amid the rivers and watercourses, draining 2,000 sq. m., this coveted metal abounds; even the river stones, when pounded, yield a rich product: it is usually obtained in small nuggets. In the iron sand of the streams running from the Kuppudgode hills, and from the adjoining Saltoor range. Sumbulpoor; in the detritus of rocks. In moderate quantities in several places in the eastern part of Nagpoor. Many of the streams descending from the Ghats into Malabar; and in Wynaad. Gold-dust in Mysoor.|| In the Assam rivers it is plentiful: near Gowhatty 1,000 men used to be employed in collecting ore for the state. Various parts of Tenasserim provinces, but in small quantities. The geological structure of India indicates an abundance of the precious metals.

Coal.—The carboniferous deposits of the *oolitic series* in Bengal, west of the Ganges and Hooghly, consist of coal, shale, and sandstone, but no limestone, and they appear chiefly to occupy the depressions of the granitic and metamorphic rocks which form this part of India, becoming exposed in the banks or beds of watercourses or rivers which have passed through them, or in escarpments which have

above the village (Wangapadu.) An open gallery cut into the rock, demonstrated that it had been formerly worked; and as the stones, which lay in abundance near it, were all tinged or overlaid with mountain green, there could be no doubt that the ore extracted had been copper."—(Heyne, *Tracts on India*, p. 112.)

|| In excavating the disintegrating granite in the vicinity of Bangalore, to ascertain the extent to which the decomposing influence of the atmosphere will affect the solid rock (viz., 30 to 35 ft.), the contents of soil were frequently auriferous. In blasting scinita at Chinapatam, 40 m. from Bangalore, on the road to Seringapatam, Lieutenant Baird Smith, B.E., observed considerable quantities of gold disseminated in small particles over the fractured surfaces. At Wynaad this metal was obtained from rich yellow earth in sufficient quantity to employ a number of labourers and to yield some return.

been produced by upheaval of the rocks on which they were deposited. The coal occurs in strata from an inch or less to 9 or 10 feet thickness, interstratified with shale and sandstone; the whole possessing a dark black or blue colour, of a greater or less intensity. At Burdwan its character is slaty: the genera of plants are partly English, some Australian, some peculiar. The depth at the Curhurbalee field, situated 60 miles south of the Ganges, near Surajgurrah, is from 50 to 100 feet. Proceeding westerly, towards Palamow district, which contains many valuable and extensive fields, and where several shafts have been sunk, it has been seen about 16 m. from Chergerh, in Singrowla; at the confluence of the Sone and Tipan, about 30 m. E. from Sohajpoor. Near Jeria, in Pachete district. Hills in Ramghur, abounding in coal. Jubbulpoor, 30 m. S. from Hoosungabad; in Shahpoor in the same neighbourhood; and abundantly along the valley of the Nerbudda. Traces of it are said to exist in the diamond sandstone north-west of Nagpoor, and it has been found in the Mahadeo mountains. In the Punjab, at Mukkad, on the left bank of the Indus, and in the localities of Joa, Meealee, and Nummul. The extremes of this coal formation, so far as have yet been discovered in India, are:—the confluence of the Godavery and Preheta in the south, in lat. 19° , and the Salt range in about 33° N.; Cutch in the west, and Burdwan in the east; and detached in Silhet, Pegu (recently found of excellent quality), and the Tenasserim provinces (plentiful, and possessing good properties.) There are many other places, no doubt, in the country between Bengal and Berar, where this valuable mineral exists; traces of it have been observed in Orissa, but it has not yet been found available for use; it is not improbable that it extends across the delta of the Ganges to Silhet, distant 300 miles. It also occurs extensively in the grits bounding the southern slope of the Himalaya: it has been questioned whether this is the older coal, or only lignite associated with nagelfluë,—where the Teesta issues from the plain, its strata is highly inclined, and it bears all the other characters of the older formation. Analysis of Indian coal found in different parts, and near the surface, gave the following results:—Chirra Poonjee, slaty kind: specific gravity, 1.497; containing volatile matter, 36; carbon, 41; and a copious white ash, 23 = 100. Nerbudda (near Fatehpoor), near the surface,—volatile matter, 10.5; water, 3.5; charcoal, 20; earthy residue (red), 61 = 100. Cossyah hills: specific gravity, 1.275; volatile matter or gas, 38.5; carbon or coke, 60.7; earthy impurities, 0.8 = 100 (ash very small.) Mirdwar: specific gravity, 1.968; volatile matter, 35.4; carbon, 50; ferruginous ash, 14.6 = 100. Arracan: specific gravity, 1.308; volatile matter, 66.4; carbon, 33; ash, 0.6 = 100. Cutch: charcoal, 70; bitumen, 20; sulphur, 5; iron, 3; calcareous earths, 2.

* These mountains are bounded on all sides by granite, that everywhere appears to pass under it, and to form its basis: some detached portions have only the upper third of their summits of sandstone and quartz, the basis or remaining two-thirds being of granite. Deep ravines are not infrequent. The diamond is procured only in the sandstone breccia, which is found under a compact rock, composed of a beautiful mixture of red and yellow jasper, quartz, chalcedony, and hornstone, of various colours, cemented together by a quartz paste: it passes into a pudding-stone of rounded pebbles of quartz, hornstone, &c., cemented by an argillo-calcareous earth of a loose friable texture, in which the diamonds are most frequently found.

Sulphur.—Mouths of Godavery, and at Condapilly, on the Kistnah. Sulphate of alumina obtained from the aluminous rocks of Nepaul; used by the natives to cure fresh wounds or bruises: yields on analysis—sulphate of alumina, 95; peroxyde of iron, 3; silice, 1: loss, 1. Sulphate of iron is procured in the Behar hills, and used by the Patna dyers: it yields sulphate of iron, 39; peroxyde of iron, 36; magnesia, 23: loss, 2 = 100.

Diamonds.—Sumbulpoor has been celebrated for the finest diamonds in the world; they are found in the bed of the Mahanuddy. Mines were formerly worked at Wyragher, Nagpoor; Malavilly, in Masulipatam (near Ellore); and at Panna, in Bundelcund. Mr. H. W. Voysey described, in 1824, the diamond mines of the *Nulla Mulla* mountains, north of the Kistnah,* which were formerly extensively worked.†

Rubies.—Sumbulpoor; in the detritus of rocks.

Pearls.—Gulf of Manaar, near Cape Comorin, and on the coast of many of the islands in the Mergui Archipelago.

Muriat of soda (common salt) is found in rock and liquid form at various places. A salt lake, 20 m. long by $1\frac{1}{2}$ broad, is situated in lat. $26^{\circ} 53'$, long. $74^{\circ} 57'$; it supplies a great portion of the neighbouring country with salt after the drains are dried up. A salt lake in Berar contains in 100 parts,—muriat of soda, 20; muriat of lime, 10; muriat of magnesia, 6. Towards the sources of the Indus, salt lakes exist at 16,000 ft. above the sea. There are extensive salt mines in the *Salt range* of the Punjab. Natron and soda lakes are said to exist in the Himalaya.

Cornelian is found and worked in different places: the principal mines are situated at the foot of the western extremity of the Rajpeela hills, close to the town of Ruttunpoor; the soil in which the cornelians are imbedded consists chiefly of quartz sand—reddened by iron, and a little clay. Agates abound in Western India: at one part of Cutch the sides of the hills (of amygdaloid) are covered with heaps of rock crystal, as if cart-loads had been purposely thrown there, and in many parts of the great trappean district the surface is strewn with a profusion of agatoid flints, onyx, hollow spheroids of quartz, crystals, and zoolitic minerals. There are evidences of several extinct volcanoes in Cutch.

This is but an imperfect sketch of the minerals of India: doubtless, there are many more places where metals exist; but during the anarchy and warfare which prevailed prior to British supremacy, the very knowledge of their locality has been lost. At no distant day this subterranean wealth will be developed; and probably, when the gold-fields of Australia are exhausted, those of India may be profitably worked.

The breccia is seen at depths varying from 5 to 50 feet, and is about 2 feet in thickness; immediately above it lies a stratum of pudding-stone, composed of quartz and hornstone pebbles, cemented by calcareous clay and grains of sand. The miners are of opinion that the diamond is always growing, and that the chips and small pieces rejected ultimately increase to large diamonds.—*Trans. A. S. Bengal*, vol. xiv., p. 120.

† The diamonds of Golconda have obtained great celebrity throughout the world, but they were merely cut and polished there, having been generally found at Partaall, in a detached portion of the Nizam's dominions, near the southern frontier, in lat. $16^{\circ} 40'$, long. $80^{\circ} 28'$.

CHAPTER III.

POPULATION—NUMBERS—DISTRIBUTION—DENSITY TO AREA—PROPORTION OF HINDOOS TO MOHAMMEDANS—VARIETIES OF RACE—DIVERSE LANGUAGES—ABORIGINES—SLAVERY—PAST AND PRESENT CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

FROM remote antiquity India has been densely peopled; but, as previously observed (p. 13), we know nothing certain of its indigenous inhabitants,—of accessions derived from immigration, or from successful invasions by sea and land,—of the progressive natural increase,—or of the circumstances which influence, through many generations, the ebb and flow of the tide of population.* There is direct testimony, however, that before the Christian era the country was thickly inhabited by a civilised people, dwelling in a well-cultivated territory, divided into numerous flourishing states, with independent governments, united in federal alliance, and capable of bringing into the field armies of several hundred thousand men.

For more than a thousand years after the Greek invasion, we have no knowledge of what was taking place among the population of India, and but a scanty notice, in the eighth century, of the Arab incursions of the regions bordering on the Indus. Even the marauding forays of Mahmood the Ghaznevide, in the eleventh century, afford no internal evidence of the state of the people, save that derived from a record of their magnificent cities, stately edifices, immense temples, lucrative trade, and vast accumulations of wealth; the Hindoos were probably then in a more advanced state of social life, though less warlike than during

the Alexandrine period; they had gradually occupied the whole of India with a greatly augmented population, and possessed a general knowledge of the arts, conveniences, and luxuries of life.

During the desolating period of Moslem forays, and of Mogul rule, there appears to have been a continued diminution of men and of wealth, which Akber in vain essayed to check by some equitable laws. We have sufficient indirect and collateral evidence to show that whole districts were depopulated, that famines frequently occurred, and that exaction, oppression, and misgovernment produced their wouted results in the deterioration of the country. No census, or any trustworthy attempt at ascertaining the numbers of their subjects, was made by the more enlightened Mogul sovereigns, even when all their energies were directed to the acquisition of new dominions.

The English, until the last few years, have been as remiss in this respect as their predecessors in power. An idea prevailed that a census would be viewed suspiciously as the prelude to a capitation tax, or some other exaction or interference with domestic affairs. In Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, which we have had under control for nearly a century, no nearer approximation has yet been made to ascertain the number of our subjects, than the clumsy and inaccurate contrivance of roughly ascer-

* It is not improbable that some of the early immigrants were offshoots of the colonists who are said to have passed from Greece into Egypt, thence travelled eastward, forming settlements on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris; and ultimately reached the Indus and Ganges. In craniological and facial characteristics, many Hindoos present a striking similitude to the ancient Greek, modified by climate, food, and habits; and in several architectural structures, of which ruins are still extant, there is considerable resemblance to the ancient buildings of Egypt, and those erected on the Babylonian plains. Bryant is of opinion that Chaldea was the parent country of the Hindoos; Vans Kennedy traces the Sanscrit language to Mesopotamia; H. H. Wilson deems that the Hindoos connected with the *Rig Veda* were from a northern site, as in that work the worshipper on more than one occasion, when soliciting long life, asks for an hundred winters, which the Professor thinks would not have been desired by the natives of a warm climate. This is not conclusive.

In Britain man frequently dates his age from the number of summers he has seen. There can, however, be little doubt that many of the early invaders of India were of the type of Japhet,—some of them acquainted with maritime commerce, and all comparatively more civilised than the *indigènes* who were driven towards the southward and eastward, and to mountain and jungle fastnesses. When this occurred it is impossible to determine. General Briggs says that the *Vedas* were written in India at the period when Joshua led the Israelites over Jordan into Canaan. The date when Menu, the lawgiver, lived has not been ascertained. Whatever the period, the Hindoos had not then occupied the country farther south than the 23rd degree, as Menu describes the people beyond as "barbarians, living in forests, and speaking an unknown language." Remote annals are lost in legends and traditions; and the chronology of Hindooism is an absurdity, except on the principle of cutting off the ciphers attached to the apocryphal figures.

taining the houses and huts in a village or district, and then supposing a fixed number of mouths in each house (say five or six.) The fallacy of such estimates is now admitted, and rulers are beginning to see the value of a correct and full census, taken at stated intervals, in order to show the rates of increase or decrease, and to note the causes thereof. I believe that the Anglo-Indian government have no reason to apprehend unpleasing disclosures if a decennial census be adopted for all the territories under their sway: the natural fecundity of the Hindoos would lead to an augmentation where peace and the elements of animal sustenance exist; and a satisfactory proof would be afforded of the beneficence of our administration, by the multiplication of human life. With these prefatory remarks, I proceed to show briefly all that is at present known on the subject.

At pp. 3 to 11 of this volume will be found the returns collected by the indefatigable Edward Thornton, head of the statistical department of the East India House, with remarks thereon at p. 2. Evidently there must be erroneous estimates somewhere, otherwise there would not be so great a disproportion of mouths to each square mile, as appears between the British territories (157) and the other states (74)—

* There have been several censuses of China, of which we have little reason to doubt the accuracy: that of 1753, showed 102,328,258; that of 1792, 307,467,200; that of 1812, 361,221,900. In some districts, along river banks, the density is very great; such as Kangsoo (Nankin)—774 to the sq. m.: in

say 105,000,000 on 666,000 sq. m., and 53,000,000 on 717,000 sq. m. Estimating the entire area, as above, at 1,380,000 sq. m., and the population thereon at 158,000,000, would give 114 to each sq. m. Viewing India as including the entire region, from the Suliman on the west, to the Youmadoung mountains on the east, and from Cape Comorin to Peshawur, and estimating the area at 1,500,000 sq. m., and the number of inhabitants to each sq. m. at 130, would show a population of 195,000,000; which is probably not far from the truth.

The Chinese census shows 367,632,907 mouths on an area of 1,297,999 sq. m., or 283 to each sq. m.* In England the density is 333; Wales, 134; Ireland, 200; Scotland, 100.† India, with its fertile soil, a climate adapted to its inhabitants, and with an industrious and comparatively civilised people, might well sustain 250 mouths to each sq. m., or 375,000,000 on 1,500,000 sq. m. of area.‡

The following table, framed from various public returns and estimates, is the nearest approximation to accuracy of the population of each district under complete British rule; it shows (excluding Pegu) a total of about 120,000,000 (119,630,098) persons on an area of 829,084 sq. m., or 146 to each sq. m.:—

others the density varies from 515 down to 51. (See vol. i., p. 29, of my report on China to her Majesty's government, in 1847.)

† See Preface (p. xv.) to my Australian volume, new issue, in 1855, for density of population in different European states.

‡ In illustration of this remark, the following statement, derived from the Commissioners' Report on the Punjab,—of the population of Jullundhur Zillah, situated between the rivers Sutlej and Beas,—is subjoined, with the note appended by the census officer, Mr. R. Temple, 25th of October, 1851:—

Pergunnahs.	Hindoo.		Mussulmen.		Total.		Grand Total.	Total Area in Acres.	Area in sq. miles of 640 Acres each.	Number of inhabitants per sq. mile.	Number of Acres to each Person.
	Agricultural.	Non-Agricultural.	Agricultural.	Non-Agricultural.	Agricultural.	Non-Agricultural.					
Philor . . .	41,997	38,591	20,442	19,211	62,439	57,802	120,241	187,001	299	412	1.52
Jullundhur . .	48,967	49,652	46,049	50,568	95,016	100,220	195,236	250,397	391	499	1.25
Rahoon . . .	42,739	47,201	25,145	19,027	67,884	66,228	134,112	199,472	312	430	1.48
Nakudur . . .	28,787	19,349	44,085	26,181	72,872	45,530	118,402	225,031	351	337	1.80
Total . . .	162,490	154,793	135,721	114,987	298,211	269,780	567,991	861,901	1,346	422	1.55

Note.—This return certainly shows a considerable density of population. It may of course be expected that a small and fertile tract like this, which contains no forest, waste, or hill, should be more thickly peopled than an extensive region like the North-Western Provinces, which embraces every variety of plain and mountain, of cultivation and jungle; we find therefore that in the provinces we have 322 inhabitants per square mile, while here we have one-fourth more, or 422; the population of this district proportionately exceeds that of twenty-two out of thirty-one districts of the North-Western Provinces, and is less than that of nine. It also exceeds the average population of any one out of the six divisions. It about equals that of the districts of Agra, Muttra, Furruckabad, and Cawnpore, but is inferior in density to the populous vicinities of Delhi or Benares, and to the fertile districts of Juanpore, Azeemgurh, and Ghazee-pore. The comparative excess of Indian over European population has become so notorious, that it is superfluous to comment on the fact, that the population averages of this district exceed those of the most highly peopled countries of Europe.

POPULATION BY PROVINCES AND DISTRICTS.

British Territories in Continental India—Area, Chief Towns, and Position.

Provinces, Districts, &c.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.	Principal Town.	Position of Town.		Date of Acquisition.
				Lat. N.	Long. E.	
BENGAL PROVINCE:—						
Calcutta, and 24 Pargunnas	1,186	701,182	Calcutta	22 34	88 26	1700 & 1757
Hooghly	2,089	1,520,840	Hooghly	22 55	88 23	1757 & 1765
Nuddea	2,942	298,736	Kishnugur	23 24	88 28	1765
Jessore	3,512	381,744	Jessore	23 9	89 11	"
Backergunge and Shabazpore	3,794	733,800	Burrisol	22 33	90 22	"
Dacca	1,960	600,000	Dacca	23 43	90 25	"
Tipperah and Bulloah	4,850	1,406,950	Tipperah	23 28	91 10	"
Chittagong	2,560	1,000,000	Chittagong	22 20	91 55	"
Sylhet and Jyntea	8,424	380,000	Sylhet	24 54	91 50	1835
Mymensing	4,712	1,487,000	Sowara	24 44	90 23	1765
Rajeshaye	2,084	671,000	Rampoor	24 33	88 38	"
Moorshedabad	1,856	1,045,000	Berhampore	24 12	88 18	"
Beebhoom	4,730	1,040,876	Sooree	23 53	87 31	"
Dinagepoor	3,820	1,200,000	Dinagepoor	25 34	88 38	"
Rungpoor	4,130	2,559,000	Rungpoor	25 40	89 16	"
Burdwan	2,221	1,854,152	Burdwan	23 12	87 56	1760
Baraset	1,424	522,000	Baraset	22 43	88 33	"
Bancoorah	1,476	480,000	Bancoorah	23 14	87 6	1760
Bhagulpore	5,806	2,000,000	Bhagulpore	25 11	87 0	1765
Mooghur	2,558	800,000	Monghyr	25 19	86 30	"
Maldah	1,000	431,000	Maldah	25 2	88 11	"
Bagoorah	2,160	900,000	Bagoorah	24 50	89 25	"
Pubna	2,606	600,000	Pubna	24 0	89 12	"
Purneah	5,878	1,600,000	Purneah	25 46	87 34	"
Furcedpore, Deccan, and Jelalpoore	2,052	855,000	Furcedpore	23 36	89 50	"
Darjeeling	834	30,882	Darjeeling	27 2	88 19	1835 & 1850
Singhbhoom	2,944	200,000	Chaibassa	22 36	85 44	1765
Maunbhoom	5,652	772,340	Pachete	23 36	86 50	"
SOUTH WEST FRONTIER:—						
Chota Nagpore	5,308	482,900 {	Lohadugga	23 6	84 46	1818
Palamow	3,468		Palamow	23 50	84 1	"
BAHAR PROVINCE:—						
Ramghur	8,524	372,216	Ramghur	24 0	85 24	1765
Behar	5,694	2,500,000	Gyah	24 43	85 2	"
Patna	1,828	1,200,000	Patna	25 53	85 16	"
Shahabad	3,721	1,600,000	Arrah	25 31	84 43	1775
Tirhoot	7,402	2,400,000	Mozufferpoor	26 6	85 28	1765
Sarun and Chumparun	2,560	1,700,000	Sarun or Chapra	25 45	85 48	"
Sumbhulpoor	4,693	800,000	Sumbhulpoor	21 29	84 0	1850
ORISSA PROVINCE:—						
Midnapore and Hidgellee	5,029	666,328	Midnapore	22 25	87 23	1760
Cuttack and Pooree	4,829	1,000,000	Cuttack	20 28	85 55	1803
Balasore	1,876	556,395	Balasore	21 30	87 0	"
Koordah	930	571,160	Koordah	20 10	85 43	"
MADRAS PRESIDENCY:—						
Ganjam	6,400	926,930	Ganjam	19 24	85 7	1765
Vizagapatam	7,650	1,254,272	Vizagapatam	17 41	83 21	"
Rajamundry	6,050	1,012,036	Rajamundry	17 0	81 50	"
Masulipatam	5,000	520,866	Masulipatam	16 10	81 12	1759
Guntoor	4,960	569,968	Guntoor	16 20	80 30	1788
Bellary	13,056	1,229,599	Bellary	15 9	76 59	1800
Cuddapah	12,970	1,451,921	Cuddapah	14 28	78 52	"
North Arcot	6,800	1,485,873	Chittoor	13 12	79 9	1751
South Arcot	7,610	1,006,005	Cuddalore	11 42	79 50	"
Chingleput and Madras	3,050	1,283,462	Madras	13 6	80 21	1765
Salem	8,200	1,195,367	Salem	11 39	78 14	1792
Coimbatore	8,280	1,153,862	Coimbatore	11 0	77 2	1799
Trichinopoly	3,000	709,196	Trichinopoly	10 48	78 46	1801
Tanjore	3,900	1,676,068	Tanjore	10 48	79 11	1799
Madura	10,700	1,756,791	Madura	9 55	78 10	1801
Tinnivelly	5,700	1,269,216	Tinnivelly	8 44	77 44	1801
Malabar	6,060	1,514,909	Calicut	11 15	75 50	1792
Canara	7,720	1,056,333	Mangalore	12 52	74 54	1799
Nellore	7,930	935,690	Nellore	14 27	80 2	1801
Kurnool	3,243	273,190	Kurnool	15 50	78 5	1823
Coorg	1,420	{ 65,437 in 1836 }	Merkara	12 27	75 48	1834
BOMBAY PRESIDENCY:—						
Concan, North	5,477	815,849	Tannah	18 57	72 53	1818
South	3,964	665,238	Rutnaghierah	17 0	73 20	"
Bombay Island	18	566,119	Bombay	18 57	72 52	1661
Dharwar	3,837	754,385	Dharwar	15 28	75 4	1818
Poona	5,298	666,006	Poona	18 31	73 53	"
Kandeish	9,311	778,112	Malligaum	20 32	74 30	"
Surat	1,629	492,684	Surat	21 9	72 51	1759
Broach	1,319	290,984	Broach	21 42	73 2	1803
Ahmednuggur	9,931	995,585	Ahmednuggur	19 6	74 46	1817
Sholapore	4,991	675,115	Sholapore	17 40	76 0	1818
Belgaum	5,405	1,025,882	Belgaum	15 50	74 36	1817

POPULATION BY PROVINCES AND DISTRICTS.

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British Territories in Continental India—Area, Chief Towns, and Position.

Provinces, Districts, &c.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.	Principal Town.	Position of Town.		Date of Acquisition.
				Lat. N.	Long. E.	
BOMBAY PRESIDENCY—continued.						
Kaira	1,869	580,631	Kaira	22° 43'	72° 40'	1803
Ahmedabad and Nassik	9,931	995,585	Ahmedabad	23° 0'	72° 36'	1818
Sattara	10,222	1,005,771	Sattara	17° 40'	74° 3'	1848
BERAR PROVINCE:—						
Deogur above the Ghauts	76,432	4,650,000	Chindwara	22° 3'	78° 58'	1854
" below the Ghauts			Nagpore	21° 10'	79° 10'	"
Wein-Gunga			Bundara	21° 11'	79° 41'	"
Choteesgurh			Ryepore	21° 11'	81° 40'	"
Chandarpoor			Chandah	19° 57'	79° 23'	"
NEHRUDDA DISTRICTS:—						
Saugor	1,857	305,594	Saugor	23° 50'	78° 49'	1818
Jubbulpoor	6,237	442,771	Jubbulpoor	23° 10'	80° 1'	"
Hoosungabad	1,916	242,641	Hoosungabad	22° 44'	77° 44'	"
Seuni	1,459	227,070	Seuni	22° 1'	79° 40'	"
Dumoh	2,428	363,584	Dumoh	23° 49'	79° 30'	"
Nursingpoor	501	254,486	Nursingpoor	24° 0'	79° 28'	"
Baitool	990	93,441	Baitool	21° 50'	77° 58'	"
AGRA PRES., OR N.W. PROV.:—						
Benares	995	851,757	Benares	25° 17'	83° 4'	1775
Ghazepore	2,181	1,596,324	Ghazepore	25° 32'	83° 39'	"
Azimghur	2,516	1,653,251	Azimghur	26° 0'	83° 14'	1801
Goruckpoor	7,340	3,087,874	Goruckpoor	26° 42'	83° 24'	"
Jounpoor	1,552	1,143,749	Jounpoor	25° 44'	82° 45'	1775
Allahabad	2,788	1,379,788	Allahabad	25° 26'	81° 45'	1801
Banda	3,009	743,872	Banda	25° 27'	80° 23'	1803
Futtehpore	1,583	679,787	Futtehpore	25° 57'	80° 54'	1801
Cawnpore	2,348	1,174,556	Cawnpore	26° 29'	80° 25'	"
Etawah	1,677	610,965	Etawah	26° 46'	79° 5'	"
Furruckabad	2,122	1,064,607	Furruckabad	27° 24'	79° 40'	"
Shajehanpoor	2,308	986,096	Shajehanpoor	27° 52'	79° 58'	"
Allyghur	2,153	1,134,565	Allyghur	27° 56'	78° 8'	1817
Bareilly	3,119	1,378,268	Bareilly	28° 23'	79° 29'	1801
Moradabad	2,698	1,138,461	Moradabad	28° 50'	78° 51'	"
Agra	1,864	1,001,961	Agra	27° 10'	78° 5'	1803
Delhi	789	435,744	Delhi	28° 38'	77° 19'	"
Saharunpoor	2,162	801,325	Saharunpoor	29° 58'	77° 36'	1803
Paniput	1,269	389,085	Paniput	29° 23'	77° 2'	"
Hissar	3,294	330,852	Hissar	29° 8'	75° 50'	"
Rohtuk	1,340	377,013	Rohtuk	28° 54'	76° 38'	"
Goorgaon	1,939	662,486	Goorgaon	28° 23'	77° 5'	"
Mozuffernuggur	1,646	672,861	Mozuffernuggur	23° 28'	77° 45'	1836
Meerut	2,200	1,135,072	Meerut	28° 59'	77° 46'	"
Booldunshuhur	1,823	778,342	Burrin	28° 24'	77° 56'	1803
Bijnore	1,900	695,521	Bijnore	29° 22'	78° 11'	1802
Budaon	2,401	1,019,161	Budaon	28° 2'	79° 11'	"
Muttra	1,613	862,909	Muttra	27° 30'	77° 45'	1803
Mynpoory	2,020	832,714	Mynpoory	27° 14'	97° 4'	"
Humeerpoor	2,241	548,604	Humeerpoor	25° 58'	80° 14'	1802
Mirzapoor	5,152	1,104,315	Mirzapoor	25° 6'	82° 38'	1801
Jaloun	1,873	176,297	Jaloun	26° 9'	74° 24'	"
Ajmere	2,029	224,891	Ajmere	26° 29'	74° 43'	1817
Mairwarra	282	37,715	Nyanugga	26° 6'	74° 25'	"
CIS SUTLEJ:—						
Umballah	293	67,134	Umballah	30° 24'	76° 49'	1847
Loodianah	725	120,898	Loodianah	30° 55'	75° 54'	"
Kythul and Ladwa	1,538	164,805	Kythul	29° 49'	76° 28'	1843
Ferozepore	97	16,890	Ferozepore	30° 55'	75° 55'	1835
Seik States	1,906	249,686	Patialah	30° 20'	76° 25'	"
PUNJAB:—						
Jhelum	13,959	1,116,035	Jhelum	32° 56'	73° 47'	1849
Lahore	13,428	2,470,817	Lahore	31° 36'	74° 21'	"
Leia	30,000	1,500,000	Leia	30° 57'	71° 4'	"
Mooltan	14,900	500,000	Mooltan	30° 12'	71° 30'	"
Jullunder	1,324	569,722	Jullunder	31° 21'	75° 31'	1846
Peshawur	4,836	{ about 850,000 }	Peshawur	34° 71'	71° 38'	1849
Kangra			Kangra	32° 5'	76° 18'	"
SCINDE PROVINCE:—						
Kurrachee	16,000	185,550	Kurrachee	24° 56'	67° 3'	1843
Shikarpoor	6,120	350,401	Shikarpoor	28° 1'	68° 39'	"
Hydrabad	30,000	551,811	Hydrabad	25° 12'	69° 29'	"
ULTRA-GANGETIC DISTRICTS:—						
Arracan	15,104	321,522	Akyab	20° 10'	92° 54'	1826
Assam, Lower	8,948	710,000	Gowhatty	26° 9'	91° 45'	"
Assam, Upper	12,857	260,000	Seehpore	27° 0'	94° 40'	"
Goalpara	3,506	400,000	Goalpara	26° 8'	90° 40'	1765
Cossya Hills	729	10,935	Chirra Ponjee	25° 14'	91° 45'	1826
Cachar	4,000	60,000	Silchar	24° 49'	92° 50'	1830
Tenasserim, Mergui, Ye, &c.	29,168	115,431	Mergui	12° 27'	98° 42'	1826
Pegu Province	25,000	550,000	Prome	17° 40'	96° 17'	1853

502 DENSITY OF POPULATION IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF INDIA.

A more recent return (28th July, 1855) from the East India House, gives the population of India thus:—

British States.—Bengal, &c., 59,966,284; N. W. Provinces, 30,872,766; Madras, 22,301,697; Bombay, 11,109,067; Eastern settlements, 202,540: total, 124,452,354.

Native States.—Bengal, 38,259,862; Madras, 4,752,975; Bombay, 4,460,370: total, 47,473,207.

Foreign States.—French settlements, 171,217; Portuguese ditto, not known. Grand total, 172,096,778.*

The varying degree of density of population to area forbids reliance being placed on any mere "estimates," or "approximations to actual amount." Thus in Bengal, Behar, and Cuttack, the number of mouths to each square mile is stated to be—in Jessore, 359; Moorshedabad, 394; Bhagulpoor, 318; Patna, 506; Cuttack, 220; Dacca, 193; Chittagong, 324: average of all, 324.† These are high ratios; but the soil is fertile, and the inhabitants very numerous along the banks of rivers. In Assam, on the N.E. frontier of Bengal, and along the rich valley of the Brahmapootra, the density is placed at only 32 to the square mile; in Arracan, at 21; Tenasserim provinces, at 4; on the S.W. frontier (Chota Nagpoor, &c.), at 85; in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, at 109; in the non-regulation provinces, Kumaon, Ajmeer, &c., at 44.

The census of the Madras Presidency (see *Appendix*) shows, on an area of 138,279 sq. m., a population of 22,281,527, or 161 persons to each sq. m. In some districts the inhabitants are much more thinly scattered: for instance, at Kurnool, 84; at Bellary, 94; at Masulipatam, 104; the highest is the rich district of Tanjore, with 430 to each

sq. m. Madras has a much less density than the British N. W. Provinces, which, according to the return of 1852-'3, shows the following results:‡—

Districts.	Square M.	Population.	Mouths to each sq. m.
Agra	9,298	4,373,156	465
Allahabad . .	11,971	4,526,607	378
Benares . . .	19,737	9,437,270	478
Delhi	8,633	2,195,180	254
Meerut	9,985	4,522,165	453
Rohilcund . .	12,428	5,217,507	419
Total . . .	72,052	30,271,885	420

By the two full censuses of Madras and the N. W. Provinces, we gain at last a fair estimate of the small number of Mohammedans, as compared with the Hindoos, in India: the Madras census of 1850-'1, shows, on a total of 21,581,572, that the *adult* Hindoos numbered 13,246,509; Mohammedan adults and others, 1,185,654: the *children*—Hindoos, 6,655,216; Mohammedans and others, 594,193: total census (exclusive of Madras city and suburbs, containing 700,000)—

Class.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Hindoos . . .	10,194,098	9,707,627	19,901,725
Mohammedans and others. }	852,978	826,869	1,679,847
Total . . .	11,047,076	10,534,496	21,581,572

The proportion of Moslems to Hindoos in Southern India, is as one to ten.

The N. W. Provinces return, in 1852-'3, shows—

Class.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Hindoos . . .	13,803,645	11,920,464	25,724,109
Mohammedans and others. }	2,376,891	2,170,880	4,547,771
Total . . .	16,180,536	14,091,344	30,271,880

* The sum of 124,452,354 is a higher figure than the Anglo-Indian subjects of the British crown have hitherto been rated, and is probably the result of a more accurate numbering of the people: thus, until a census now (July, 1855) in progress was made of the Punjab, the population was, as usual, under-estimated. According to the *Lahore Chronicle* of 30th of May, 1855, the returns then received show for Lahore, 3,458,322; Jhelum, 1,762,488; Cis-Sutlej, 2,313,969: which are higher figures than those given from the Parliamentary Papers, at previous page. The enumerations made up to May last, for the Punjab, gave 10,765,478; and it was supposed that the grand total, when completed, would be about eleven million and a-half, or nearly four million more than the official document previously given for the Punjab and Cis-Sutlej states. In my first work on India, twenty years ago, I assumed the population under British jurisdiction to be about one hundred million, which some con-

sidered an exaggeration; the above augmentation of twenty-four million is accounted for by the addition of new states, such as the Punjab. I have little doubt that an accurate census will show a larger aggregate than 124,000,000.

† I obtained in India, in 1830, "a census," or rather estimate of these districts, showing an aggregate of area in sq. m., 153,792; villages, 154,268; houses, 7,781,240; mouths, 39,957,561: or about one village to each sq. m. of 640 acres, five houses to each village, five and a-half persons to each house, and 259 mouths to each sq. m. (See my first *History of the British Colonies*, vol. i., Asia; 2nd edition, p. 166: published in 1835.)

‡ As regards the censuses of Madras and the N. W. Provinces, I have seen no details given of the means adopted to ensure an accurate enumeration in a single day; they must, I think, be considered as "near approximations" to truth: they appear to be the best yet obtained.

Delhi, Agra, and the adjacent provinces, have for several centuries been the strongholds of the Moslems; yet even here their numbers (including "other" denominations not Hindoos) is only four million to twenty-five million. In 1830, I estimated the total Mohammedan population of India at fifteen million, and recent investigations justify this estimate.

A census of Agra and its suburbs (excluding inmates of bungalows round about the city, and the domestics attached thereto, about 3,000 in number, and also the inhabitants of bazaars and villages in military cantonments) was made in 1844-'45, after seven months' careful examination: the result showed a population of 103,572, with an excess of 8,245 Hindoos over Mohammedans, in this a former seat of Moslem rule; the grand total of houses was 15,327.

A census, in 1829, of Moorshedabad city and district, the head-quarters of the former Mohammedan ruler of Bengal, showed—Hindoos, 555,310; Mussulmen, 412,816 = 968,126: proportion of sexes—*Hindoo*, males, 286,148; females, 269,162: Mussulmen, males, 216,878; females, 196,344: number of houses, *Hindoo*, 123,495; *Mussulmen*, 84,734. Allahabad city census in 1831-'2, gave—of Hindoos, 44,116; Mussulmen, 20,669. Allahabad district—Hindoos, 554,206; Mussulmen, 161,209; in the city, the Hindoos were in the proportion of two to one; in the district, of more than three to one.

The population of Calcutta has been a matter of wide estimate, and is in proof of the past neglect of statistical inquiries: in July, 1789, the inhabitants of the Anglo-Indian metropolis were *guessed* at 400,000; at the commencement of the present century, about one million; in 1815, at half a million; in 1837, an imperfect census gave a quarter of a million (229,714); and in 1850, a more complete census showed nearly half a million (413,182), comprising only those residing within the City Proper, bounded by the Mahratta ditch, or limits of the supreme court: the dense population of the suburbs, probably exceeding half a million, are not stated; nor, I believe, the floating mass of

people who pass into and out of Calcutta daily; viz., 72,425, of whom 10,936 cross the river diurnally in ferries.

Resume of Censuses.	1850.	1837.
	Males.	Females.
Europeans	6,233	6,479
Eurasians (mixed blood) . .	4,615	4,746
Armenians	892	636
Chinese	847	362
Asiatics and low castes . . .	15,342	21,096
Hindoos	274,335	137,651
Mohammedans	110,918	58,744
Total	413,182	229,714

It is usual to speak of India as if it were inhabited by a single race: such is not the case; the people are more varied in language, appearance, and manners, than those of Europe.* About twenty languages are extensively spoken; viz., (1.) *Hindoostanee*, in pretty general use, particularly in the N.W. Provinces, and usually by Mussulmen† throughout India; (2.) *Bengallee*, in the lower parts of the Gangetic and Brahmapootra plains; (3.) *Punjabee* or *Seik*, in the upper portion of the Indies; (4.) *Sindhee*, in Cis-Sutlej states and Sindh; (5.) *Tamul*, around Madras and down to the coast of Cape Comorin; (6.) *Canarese* or *Karnata*, in Mysoor and Coorg; (7.) *Malayalim*, in Travancore and Cochin; (8.) *Teloogoo* or *Telinga*, at Hyderabad (Deccan), and eastward to coast of Bengal Bay; (9.) *Oorya*, in Orissa; (10.) *Cole* and *Gond*, in Berar; (11.) *Mahratta*, in Maharashtra; (12.) *Hindee*, in Rajpootana and Malwa; (13.) *Guzerattee*, in Guzerat; (14.) *Cutchchee*, in Cutch; (15.) *Cashmerian*, in Cashmere; (16.) *Nepaulese*, in Nepal; (17.) *Bhote*, in Bootan; (18.) *Assamese*, Up. Assam; (19.) *Burmese*, in Arracan and Pegu; (20.) *Brakhoi*, or *Beloochee*, in Beloochistan; Persian and Arabic sparingly, and numerous dialects in different localities.

In Bengal and Orissa the majority of the people do not eat meat, and the abstinence is ascribed to a religious precept forbidding the destruction of life: but almost every Hindoo eats fish; several consume kid flesh (especially when sacrificed and offered to idols), is sometimes the Deva Nagri (Sanskrit), but more generally the Arabic alphabet. Although the great majority of the people of India are usually termed Hindoos as regards creed, there is as slight a bond of union among them on that account as there is among the professing Christians in Europe, and as much diversity in reference to practices supposed to be connected with their religious faith

* Principal languages: English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, German, Russ, Polish, Turkish, Greek, Dutch, Danish, Sæde, Norwegian, Finn = 15.

† This tongue was formed as a medium of colloquial intercourse in 1555, by the Emperor Akber, out of *Hindee*, the primitive language of the Hindoos, and Arabic and Persian, which were used by the Mohammedan conquerors: the character adopted

and also birds. Numerous Brahmins and Rajpoots of the highest castes, in N. and W. India, partake of goat, deer, and wild boar; while they abhor the domestic sheep and swine: others who use the jungle cock, (similar to our game-cock), would deem the touch of barn-door poultry pollution. Some classes feed on descriptions of provender which are rejected by others: at Bikaner, all the Hindoos profess an abhorrence of fish; at Kumaon, they will masticate the short-tailed sheep of the hills, but not the long-tailed one of the plains; people will buy baked bread, but would lose caste if they touched boiled rice cooked by these very bakers: an earthen pot is polluted past redemption if touched by an inferior caste; a metal one suffers no such deterioration: some tribes allow a man to smoke through his hands from the bowl (*chillum*) which contains the tobacco, but would not suffer the same person to touch that part of the *hookah* which contains the water. Other instances of diversity might be multiplied. Even the religious holidays of Bengal are different from those observed in the N. W. Provinces. The barbarous ceremonies of Juggernaut, and the abominations of the Churruk Poojah (where men submit themselves to be swung in the air, with hooks fastened through their loins), are unknown in N. and W. India. In some parts, female infanticide is or was wont to be almost universal; in others it is held in just abhorrence: in some districts, polygamy prevails; in others polyandria—one woman being married to all the brothers of a family, in order to retain property among them;—*here* the marriage of a daughter is a great expense,—*there* a source of profit, as the husband buys his bride, and has the right to sell her, and even to mortgage her for a definite time as security for a debt.

Independent of the division of the Hindoos into castes—Brahmins, Cashtriya, Vaisyas, and Soodras,—and the subdivision of society into numerous hereditary classes, there are other diversities, arising probably from origin of race, and the peculiarities engen-

dered during a long course of time by climate and food: thus the brave Rajpoot and the bold Mahratta are decided antagonists; but both view, with something of contempt, the peaceful, subtle, rice-feeding* Bengallee, whose cleanly, simple habits are outraged by the gross-feeding, dirty Mughls of Arracan, who object not to a dish of stewed rats or snakes, or even to a slice of a putrefying elephant. The Coromandel men have features and modes of thought distinct from those of the Malabar coast; while inhabitants of the Kattywar peninsula differ essentially from both. The dwellers on the cool and dry hills and plateaux, present a marked contrast to those who reside in the hot and humid plains and valleys; and the aborigines, such as the Gonds of Berar, present no similarity whatever to the fine mould and beautifully-chiselled head and face, arched nose, and olive hue, of the pure Hindoo, or to the large-boned, massive frame, and manly cast of the hard-featured, genuine Moslem.

The variety of races in India are so decided, that an experienced officer will at once say whether a soldier belongs to the respective departments of the army of Bengal, of Madras, or Bombay; and further, whether a Hindoo is from Rajpootana, from Oude, from the Deccan, from the coast, or elsewhere.†

With regard to the Mohammedans, irrespective of their local aversions, they are divided into two sects—Soonee and Shea,—who abhor each other as cordially as the members of the Latin and Greek church do, or as the Romanists and Orangemen of Ireland, and are equally ready to fight and slay on a theological point of dispute. Then, besides these two leading divisions of the population, there are several million persons under the denominations of Jains or Buddhists, who consume no animal food or fermented beverage; Seiks, who eat the flesh of the cow, and drink ardent spirits; Parsees or Guebers (erroneously termed “fire-worshippers”), Latin, Protestant, Nestorians, or Syriac and Armenian Christians, —Jews,‡ and a mixed race sprung from the

* A comparatively small portion of the Hindoo population live on rice; the majority eat wheat and other grain, as also various species of pulse.

† In Calcutta, where a variety of races, or, as they may more properly be termed *nations*, are collected, the peculiarities of each are readily ascertainable, and their antagonisms quickly manifested. Among twenty persons in my service at one time in Bengal, there were (excepting four Balasore palanquin-

bearers, a tribe bearing a high repute for honesty), not two of the same race; consequently much mutual distrust, frequent quarrels, bickering, and fighting.

‡ Stavrinus adverts, in 1775—78, to the colony of Jews at Cochin, who, he says, “although most of them are nearly as black as the native Malahars, they yet retain, both men and women, those characteristic features which distinguished this singular people from all other nations of the earth.”—

marital union of all—some of one creed, some of another: added to these are the *Euradians*, born of European fathers and Indian mothers; a rapidly increasing class, probably destined, at some future day, to exercise an important influence in the East.

Before passing from the subject of the numbers and variety of the people, I would wish to draw public attention to a large and most interesting section of them, to whom reference has been made previously, as the aborigines of India. They are scattered over every part of the country, generally in the hilly districts; and although speaking different dialects,* and of varying appearance, manners, and customs, they are considered by General Briggs and Mr. Hodgson (who have studied their peculiarities) as having their origin from a common stock. Of their number throughout India we know nothing; they must amount to several million human beings, whose character is thus summed up:—"The man of the ancient race scorns an untruth, and seldom denies the commission even of a crime that he may have perpetrated, though it lead to death: he is true to his promise; hospitable and faithful to his guest, devoted to his superiors, and always ready to sacrifice his own life in the service of his chief; he is reckless of danger, and knows no fear."† It may be added, that he considers himself justified in levying "black mail" on all from whom he can obtain it, on the ground that he has been deprived of his possession of the soil by the more civilised race who have usurped the territory. The aborigines are distinguished from the Hindoos by several marked (*Voyages to East Indies*, vol. iii., p. 226.) They had then "a very beautiful and authentic copy of the Pentateuch," but know not when or where they derived it. Their own statement is, that they are of the posterity of the ten tribes carried away into captivity by Shalmaneser, and who, after being liberated from their Assyrian bonds, came hither, where they have from time immemorial constituted a small but isolated community, and enjoyed for a series of ages valuable privileges, including the exercise of their religion without restraint. Their houses, in a separate town, are built of stone, plastered white on the outside, and they have three synagogues; most of them are employed in trade, and some are very wealthy. How these Jews became black is not known; but according to Stavorinus, when they purchase a slave he is immediately circumcised, and received into the community as a fellow Israelite. By intermarriages with such converts, the colour, in process of time, may have become perfectly dark, while the peculiar physiognomy was perpetuated in the race of mixed blood, as I have noticed is generally the case with the descendants, by male fathers, of the English,

customs: they have no castes; eat beef and all sorts of animal food; drink, on every possible occasion, intoxicating beverages (no ceremony, civil or religious, is deemed complete without such drink); have no aversion to the shedding of blood; atone for the sins of the dead by the sacrifice of a victim; widows marry and do not burn; they are ignorant of reading or writing, and usually live by the chase and by pastoral pursuits. Some tribes take their designation from the country they inhabit: Gonds, in Gondwana; Koles or Kolis, in Kolywara; Mirs or Mairs, in Mairmara; Bheels or Bhils, in Bhilwara and Bhilwan; Benjecs, in Bengal, &c. Other tribes, such as the Todawurs of the Neilgherries, have designations of which the origin is unknown.

The men are nearly naked; the women wear a cloth wrapper round the waist, carried over the left shoulder and under the right arm; they live mostly in conical thatched hovels, apart from the dwellings of the Hindoos, by whom they are treated as outcasts, and have no valuables but asses and dogs. As watchmen and thief-takers they are of great use, from their fidelity, sacred regard for truth, and the skill evinced in following a foot-track: they are entrusted with the care of private property to a large amount, and convey the public revenue to the chief towns of districts—a duty which they perform with scrupulous care and punctuality.

An unseen deity is worshipped; prayers are offered to avert famine and disease, and for preservation from wild beasts and venomous reptiles: to propitiate the favour

French, Spanish, and Portuguese. There is a colony of white Jews at Mattacherry, or the *Jews' town*, a suburb of Cochin; they regard the black Jews as an inferior caste: the former say that they came to Cranganore after the destruction of the second temple, and that they have a plate of brass in their possession since the year A.D. 490, which records the grant of land and privileges conceded to them by the king of that part of India: a copy of it is now in the public library at Cambridge. By discord and meddling in the disputes of the natives, the Cranganore Jews brought destruction on themselves at the hands of an Indian king, who destroyed their strongholds, palaces, and houses, slew many, and carried others into captivity. The Jews have a never-ceasing communication with their brethren throughout the East. For fuller details of these white and black Israelites, see Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. i., 464.

* They seem to be connected with the Tamul and other languages of Southern India, and have no affinity with the Sanscrit.

† *Lectures on the Aboriginal Race of India*; by Lt.-General Briggs: 1852, p. 13.

or appease the anger of the object of adoration, living sacrifices (in some cases human beings) are deemed essential; and the blood of the victim is retained in small vessels by the votaries. All social and religious ceremonies are accompanied by feasting, drinking, and dancing; the latter performed, sometimes, by several hundred women (their hair highly ornamented with flowers) grouped in concentric circles, each laying hold with one hand on her neighbour's cincture or waist, and beating time with the heels on the ground. In figure they are well made and sinewy; rather low in stature; face large or flat, and wide; eyes black and piercing; nose-bridge depressed, nostrils expanded, mouth protruding, lips large, little or no beard: altogether presenting a marked contrast to the Apollo-like form of the genuine Hindoo.*

Several benevolent governmental servants have undertaken the civilisation of different tribes, and by kindness and tact effected considerable improvement in their habits and condition. When disciplined, they make brave and obedient soldiers, are proud of the consideration of their European officers, to whom they become ardently attached, and are ready to follow them abroad, on board ship, or wherever they go. The aborigines of the Carnatic formed the leading sepoys of Clive and Coote; and at the great battle of Plassy they helped to lay the foundation of the Anglo-Indian empire.† The *Bengies*, who are found in all parts of the Gangetic plain, when serving in the Mohammedan armies, claimed as *indigenes* the honour of leading storming parties. In the defence of Jellalabad, under the gallant Sir R. Sale, the *Pariahs* (out castes, or low castes, as the aborigines are termed) evinced the most indomitable courage and perseverance, as they have done at Ava, or wherever employed in the pioneer and engineer corps. These hitherto neglected races may be turned to beneficial uses. The tribe termed *Ramoosees*, or foresters, became the active and indefatigable infantry, who enabled Sevajee to conquer from the Moguls the numerous hill forts which formed the basis of the Mahratta dominion. The *Bheels* have long been celebrated in Western India annals, and

their deeds recorded by Malcolm, Tod, &c.: as a local militia, they rendered good service in Candeish. The *Southals* of Bhagulpoor, reclaimed by the noble-minded civilian Cleveland, have now one of the finest regiments of the British army, recruited from their once despised class. The *Mairs* of Mewar are selected to guard the palace and treasury of the Rajpoot rajah, and form the only escort attendant on the princesses when they go abroad. Hyder Ali had such confidence in the *Bedars* of Canara, that a body of 200 spearmen ran beside him, whether on horseback or in his palanquin, and guarded his tent at night.

SLAVERY IN INDIA.—During the early Hindoo sway, the aborigines were, as far as practicable, reduced to servitude; those who could not find refuge in the hills and jungles, were made *adscripti glebæ*, and transferred as predial slaves with the land. Under Moslem rule, this unhappy class was augmented by another set of victims of man's rapacity. Persons unable to pay the government taxes were sold into servitude; others who were reduced to extreme poverty voluntarily surrendered themselves as bondsmen, either for life or for a term of years, to obtain the means of existence: in many cases the children of the poor were bought by the wealthy for servants or for sensual purposes. Eunuchs and others employed in the harems and as attendants, were imported from Africa and other places. Hence slavery, domestic and predial, now exists in almost every part of India. Our government, even during the administration of Warren Hastings, were aware of the fact; but it was deemed politic not to interfere, for the same reasons that induced the long toleration of widow-burning and infanticide.

In 1830, I applied to Mr. Wilberforce on the subject, and urged the anti-slavery society to investigate the matter; but he considered it then most advisable to give all his attention to the West Indies. Evidence adduced before the East India parliamentary committee, in 1832, disclosed a dreadful state of human suffering among East Indian slaves, which was confirmed by subsequent investigations, when it was ascertained that the Anglo-Indian government were large

* Some of the gipsy tribe of the aborigines whom I saw in the Deccan, were like their European brethren of the same class, and the women equally handsome: in the form of their encampment—asses, carts, and dogs—the tribe might have been con-

sidered a recent migration from Devonshire. Some gipsies, whose location I visited in China, presented similar characteristics.

† My authority for these statements is Lt.-general Briggs.

slaveholders in right of lands held in actual possession. Parliament, in 1834-'35, began to discuss the matter, and several eminent civil servants of the E. I. Cy. exerted themselves to elucidate the evils of this nefarious system. In December, 1838, I laid before the Marquis Wellesley a plan for the gradual but effectual abolition of slavery in India: it was highly approved by his lordship, who urged the adoption thereof on the Indian authorities. Some part of the plan* was adopted: the government relinquished their right to slaves on escheated lands; reports were called for from the collectors and other public officers; and, on the 7th of April, 1843, an act (No. 5) was passed by the President of India in council, which declared as follows:—

"I. That no public officer shall, in execution of any decree or order of court, or for the enforcement of any demand of rent or revenue, sell or cause to be sold any person, or the right to the compulsory labour or services of any person, on the ground that such person is in a state of slavery.

"II. That no rights arising out of an alleged property in the person and services of another as a slave shall be enforced by any civil or criminal court or magistrate within the territories of the E. I. Cy.

"III. That no person who may have acquired property by his own industry, or by the exercise of any art, calling, or profession, or by inheritance, assignment, gift, or bequest, shall be dispossessed of such property, or prevented from taking possession thereof, on the ground that such person, or that the person from whom the property may have been derived, was a slave.

"IV. That any act which would be a penal offence if done to a free man, shall be equally an offence if done to any person on the pretext of his being in a condition of slavery."

Much, however, still remains to be done, until slavery be as effectually extinguished in the *East* as it has happily and beneficially been in the *West* India possessions of the British crown. There is no difficulty among the Hindoo population, as slavery is not a

* My chief recommendations were—(1.) A committee of inquiry. (2.) A registry in each collectorate of male and female slaves, agrestic and domestic. (3.) District magistrates to report on the laws and customs in force. (4.) All children born after a certain date to be declared free. (5.) Slaves to have the same protection of the law as freemen; their evidence equally receivable in a court of justice. (6.) Ill-treatment to be followed by manumission. (7.) Masters no power to punish. (8.) Wife and children not to be separated. (9.) Slaves on government lands to be at once freed. (10.) No voluntary sale of individuals or of their children to be lawful. (11.) Transfers of slaves only in their respective districts. (12.) Slaves to be entitled to acquire and possess property, and to purchase manumission: magistrate to arbitrate in cases of disputed price. (13.) Magistrate to attend to the condition

question of *caste*; and with regard to Mohammedan laws, a Christian government cannot be expected to recognise that which is repugnant to the first principles of humanity. We know nothing certain of the number of slaves in Hindoostan; the estimates made are but guess-work: in Malabar,† Canara, Coorg, Tinnevely, and other parts of Southern India, the estimates are from a half to one million; for Bengal, or the N. W. Provinces, we have no estimates. In fact, we know not whether there be *one* or *ten* million slaves under the British government in Asia.

The foregoing illustrations sufficiently indicate that there is no homogeneity of population in India, no bond of union,—no feeling of patriotism, arising from similarity of origin, language, creed, or caste,—no common sentiment, founded on historic or traditional associations: there is therefore more security for the preservation of British authority; but there is greater difficulty in ameliorating the social condition of the mass of the people, which was deteriorated under Moslem tyranny, and is still, as compared to some past period, at a low ebb.

The discussion of this theme is beyond my appointed limits, and I can only offer a few passing observations. The Hindoos speak of having experienced three ages,—1. Gold and silver; 2. Copper and brass; 3. Earth and wood,—which form the component parts of their domestic utensils; but when these ages commenced and ended, there are no means of ascertaining.‡ Ere Tyre became a place for fishermen to dry their nets, the Hindoo-Phœnician commerce had an Asiatic renown: the spices of India were sought in the time of Solomon; the gossamer muslins of Dacca, the and complaints of slaves, to pass summary judgment, and to report his proceedings annually to government, who were to send out queries, and call for reports on the nature and extent of slavery in each district, from the officers entrusted with supervision.

† Mr. Peggs and others estimate the number of slaves, in Malabar alone, at 147,000; in Canara, Coorg, Wynad, Cochin, and Travancore, at 254,000; in Tinnevely, 324,000; Trichinopoly, 10,000; Arcot, 20,000; Assam, 11,300; Surat, 3,000. According to Buchanan, the number must be very large in Behar and in Bengal: and all authorities describe their condition as truly miserable;—stunted, squalid, and treated with far less care than the beasts of the field.

‡ The third age is still extant, as illustrated by the earthen water and cooking pots—*chatty*.

beautiful shawls of Cashmere, and the brocaded silks of Delhi, adorned the proudest beauties at the courts of the Cæsars, when the barbarians of Britain were painted savages. Embossed and filigree metals,—elaborate carvings in ivory, ebony, and sandalwood; brilliant dyed chintzes; diamonds, uniquely set pearls, and precious stones; embroidered velvets and carpets; highly wrought steel; excellent porcelain, and perfect naval architecture,—were for ages the admiration of civilised mankind: and before London was known in history, India was the richest trading mart of the earth. Ruined cities, such as *Gour*, the ancient capital of Bengal, which covered an area of seventeen miles,—*Beejapoor*, with its million of inhabited houses; *Mandoo*, with a wall twenty-eight miles in circuit; *Rajmahal*, the dwelling-place of an hundred kings; Palebothra and Canouj,—indicated a large urban class, who required to be fed by a proportionately numerous agrestic population. Hundreds of cave temples,* equal in interior-size and architectural beauty to the noblest cathedrals of Europe, attest the depth of religious feeling among the worshippers; while gorgeous ceremonials and sensuous luxuries indicate the highest stage of Pagan refinement: but all afford a melancholy contrast to the poverty which now pervades the mass of the people, and to the dull intellectuality and idolatrous routine that at present extends over social life.†

An extensive study of Indian records leads to the conclusion that the decay of Hindoostan dates from the period of Mohammedan incursions and conquests. Afghan, Tartar, Patan, Mogul, Persian, Arab,

* Such as those of Karli, Ellora, Elephanta, &c. Dr. Buist, of Bombay, in his eloquent advocacy of the claims of India, says—"These have been hewn out in the absence of gunpowder, and, fashioned without natural adjunct or addition of masonry into their present form, covered with rich and elaborate structures by the hand of man. The caves are grouped together so as to furnish places of worship, halls of instruction, and domiciles for the professors and their pupils, exactly on the plan of the universities which came into existence in Europe *two thousand years* after those of India were forgotten; indicating an amount of civilisation and demand for knowledge in the East twenty-four centuries ago."—(*Notes on India*: London, 1853, p. 10.) The number of temples in India is as yet imperfectly ascertained. Mount Abo, 5,000 feet high, is covered and surmounted by these singular structures.

† See Dr. Buist's *Notes on India*.

‡ The desolating effect of Moslem sway over the fairest portion of Eastern Europe for nearly 400 years, notwithstanding the influences of surrounding

and other Moslem adventurers, here found the richest spoil and the most fertile field: swarming like locusts, and equally ravenous, successive hordes crossed the frontiers, slew all who opposed, and, by their tyranny and sensuality, pauperised and demoralised all whom they subjected to their sway. Hence entire regions became desolate, and famines frequent in the inhabited parts. One of these afflictions, prolonged from 1640 to 1655, was felt throughout India, but principally in Bengal and in the Deccan; another occurred in 1661, when Aurungzebo was endeavouring to collect fifty per cent. of the produce of the land: other famines, resulting from poverty and exactions (not, as is alleged, from unpropitious seasons), occurred at different times, followed as usual by sicknesses, and swept off millions of the inhabitants.

Then the fierce and long-continued struggles of the Rajpoot, Mahratta, and other Hindoo races in refusing to bow their necks to Islamite yoke; the frequent rebellions in distant provinces necessitating the maintenance of large armies for the support of imperial power at Delhi; the internecine contests between several Mogul viceroys for the extension of dominion; and the desolations of the Carnatic and of Southern India by those Moslem scourges Hyder Ali and his son Tippoo, must each and all, together with other collateral circumstances which cannot here be examined, have contributed to the rapid decay and impoverishment of the people of India, in a manner not dissimilar to the destruction and demoralisation of the Greeks, and the desolation of the fair regions of Asia Minor by the Turks.‡ That the Moguls have left traces behind civilisation, and with an active, intelligent, impressive character in the millions of Greeks subject to its sway, proves the incapability of Mohammedanism for that progressive improvement in society which pre-eminently marks Christianity as the true religion adapted for man. The Turks for three centuries lived among, yet apart, from the Greeks; during their intolerant rule, there was no social intercourse between the dominant and subject races; and, in matters of dispute, all law or justice was set aside, as the word or oath of a Christian was not recognised in their legal tribunals. The taxes levied were enormous; in the local country, where resistance to fiscal oppression was impossible, four-fifths of his produce was exacted from the agriculturist, independent of minor plunderings, of "presents," forced tribute to each new pasha or provincial governor, and of endless extortions by his satellites, which was required from all who had accumulated any wealth. As in India during the Mogul sway, so in Greece: there was no security for life, honour, and property; the virtue of woman, the labour of the peasant, the skill

them of some great works is undoubtedly true, but they were the work of Hindoo artificers, and such as conquerors exact from slaves;—palaces and fortresses, mosques and mausoleums, canals and tanks—the latter indispensable for the production of territorial revenue, which would fail without irrigation of the land: but the Mohammedans took as little root in India as the Romans did in Britain; and their power crumbled to pieces

of its own accord, leaving the sceptre which Baber, Akber, and Aurungzebe had wielded by military force, to be scrambled for by the strongest arm. We found the people of Bengal and of the Carnatic impoverished and oppressed; the oppression has been removed, but the poverty is as yet only slightly mitigated. On this topic I hope to offer, at the concluding section (if space permit), some points for consideration.

of the artisan, were all at the mercy of sensual, barbarous, and cruel tyrants, from the sultan at Constantinople to the janissary in the smallest village; the whip and the bastinado, the sword and the rope, were the prime instruments of Turkish rule. As financiers and penmen, the Greeks, like the Hindoos, were entrusted sometimes with high offices, which the Mohammedans were incapable of executing. The Hindoos, especially the Mahrattas, made several attempts to destroy Moslem sway, but there was no effectual combination. The Greeks were successful by their union in 1821. After seven years of secret organisation, they commenced their efforts for independence. Instead of being met by any concessions, Gregory, the patriarch of their church,—although he had, at the bidding of the sultan, excommunicated and anathematised the strugglers for liberty, and released the *Philikoi* (members of the Secret Society) from their oath,—was seized on Easter eve, dragged ignominiously through the streets of Constantinople, and then strangled at the door of the church in which he recently officiated; the body was left hanging three days to be pelted at and made the jest of the populace, then cast into the Bosphorus. Three suffragan archbishops were hanged by a black executioner at different parts of the city, and many hundreds of the clergy were massacred by the populace. Then began a series of atrocities which ought to have caused the entire expulsion of the barbarians from Europe. Throughout every part of the wide-spread Turkish dominions there was an indiscriminate slaughter of the Christians; savage brigands from Anatolia and Kurdistan were brought across the Bosphorus, under a firman calling on all true Mohammedans for defence: a few wealthy Greek merchants, fearing what was coming, fled to Odessa, but for the mass of their countrymen there was no refuge or hope of escape; houses were broken open, and the inmates torn from their hiding-places and carried to slaughter; every Christian seen in the streets was instantly slain as if he were a mad dog; “the European ships in the harbour, and the houses of the foreign consuls were thronged by the unhappy Christians, but their asylum was disregarded; and the decks of British and French merchant vessels were deluged with the blood of those whom their captains had vainly endeavoured to protect. In a few days 10,000 Christians perished in that one city; the remnant of the Greek population there was scattered to the four winds of heaven; they wandered as beggars through the streets of Odessa, or starved in the ditches of the Byzantine suburbs.”—(*See London Times*, 5th October, 1853.) In Adrianople and Smyrna the streets were smeared with blood; and from the Danube to the Nile, wherever the Moslem held sway, the life of a Christian was not worth one hour's purchase. Within the short space

of a few weeks, in the year 1821, it is estimated that 40,000 Christians were slain; and during six years' struggle for life and liberty, at least 100,000 perished. Perhaps of all the massacres, the fiendish character of the followers of the false prophet is best exemplified by that which took place in the beautiful and fertile island of Scio, of which an account is given in the columns of the *Annual Register*, 1822-'3. Suffice it to say, that a population which at the beginning of the year numbered 120,000, was in the month of July reduced to 900, and even these were in danger of perishing from the pestilence which ensued on the fearful slaughter of their countrymen. How many such scenes may have been acted in Hindoostan there were none to record. During the debates in parliament, pending the war between Russia and England, fearful illustrations were produced of the cruelty, oppression, exaction, and remorseless spirit which characterise the Mohammedans even at the present day. The consequences of Turkish rule, and the condition of a Christian village after an Osmanli invasion, are thus stated by Mr. Layard:—“Their church was in ruins; around were the charred remains of the burnt cottages, and the neglected orchards overgrown with weeds. A body of Turkish troops had lately visited the village, and had destroyed the little that had been restored since the Turkish invasion. The same taxes had been collected three times—and even four times over. The relations of those who had run away to escape from these exactions had been compelled to pay for the fugitives. The chief had been thrown, with his arms tied behind his back, on a heap of burning straw, and compelled to disclose where a little money that had been saved by the villagers had been buried.”—(*Times*, 14th March, 1851.) On the 4th July, 1853, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe wrote to his government that he was necessitated of late, and indeed for some years back, to bring to the knowledge of the Porte atrocious acts of cruelty, rapine, and murder, for which no effectual redress was provided. Doubtless there are many high-minded, trustworthy, and amiable men among the disciples of the Crescent. Asiatic travellers can record numerous instances of good offices received from Moslems—whether designated as Turks, Arabs, Persians, or Hindoos. Under the Anglo-Indian government, there are thousands of Mohammedans as “true to their salt,” as brave and kindly in their nature, as those of any other form of religion: but for civil government, the creed of the Koran is utterly unfit; indeed, Mohammed never designed it for aught but military power and despotic sway, which naturally corrupts the minds of those who long use these means to preserve their dominion,—to keep men morally and politically in bondage,—instead of fitting them in this world, by freedom and the exercise of their faculties, for an eternity of happiness.

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGION—CHRISTIAN MISSIONS—EDUCATION—THE PRESS—AND CRIME.

INDIA exemplifies the truth of the assertion,* that religion is inseparable from the nature of man: the savage and the sage alike frame some system of theological belief,—some mode of communicating with the Deity,—some link of spiritual connexion between the created and the Creator;† but every attempt to invest humanity with the attributes of Divinity has ended in the deification of stocks and stones,‡—in the concoction of monstrous frauds, and in the practice of the grossest sensuality, which corrupt alike the souls and the bodies of the worshippers.

In Hindoostan the principle of a universal religion is illustrated in every conceivable form, from abstract Monotheism to complex Pantheism,—from the worship of the sun, as the representative of celestial power, to the rudely-carved image which a Brahmin

* See Preface to second edition of my *Analysis of the Bible with reference to the Social Duty of Man*.

† From the highest to the lowest link in the chain which connects in one genus every variety of the human race, all believe in a spiritual power that is superior to man,—in an invisible world, and in a resurrection after death: this is manifested by dread of an unseen good or evil deity,—by a persuasion of the existence of fairies or ghosts,—by the sepulture of the body,—and by placing in the grave things deemed necessary in another stage of existence.

‡ The Rev. William Arthur, in his admirable work, *A Mission to Mysoor*, refers to the arguments he was in the habit of having with Brahmins, and says—“They frequently took strong ground in favour of idolatry, urging that the human mind is so unstable, that it cannot be fixed on any spiritual object without some appeal to the senses; that, therefore, to worship by mere mental effort, without external aid, is impossible; but that, by placing an image before the eye, they can fix the mind on it, and say, ‘*Thou art God!*’ and by this means form a conception, and then worship.” It was probably this idea that unhappily induced the early Christian church to admit images, pictures, and representations of holy men, into places of public worship; though it is not so easy to account for the introduction of Maryolatry. The necessity of engaging the usually wandering mind by some visual object is, I believe, the plea used by Romanists and Greeks for the frequent elevation of the crucifix; and it is quite possible that many pious persons deem its presence essential: the danger is not in the crucifix, or the figure of the Redeemer thereon, but in the representation degenerating into formalism. On the other hand, it is to be feared that many professing protestants have few ideas of vital Christianity, and consider its solemn duties fulfilled by an hebdomadal public worship.

§ Thus acknowledged in one of the Hindoo prayers:—“We bow to Him whose glory is the perpetual theme of every speech;—Him first, Him last,—the Supreme Lord of the boundless world;—who is primeval Light, who is

is supposed to endue with sentient existence,—from the sacrificial offering of fruit and flowers, to the immolation of human victims: here, also, we see this natural feeling taken advantage of by artful men to construct Brahminical and Buddhistical rituals, which, embracing every stage of life, and involving monotonous routine, completely subjugate the mass to a dominant priesthood, who claim peculiar sanctity, and use their assumed prerogatives for the retention of the mass of their fellow-beings in a state of moral degradation and of intellectual darkness.

Yet, amidst this corruption and blindness, some rays of truth are still acknowledged—such as a supreme First Cause,§ with his triune attributes of omnipotence, omniscience, omnipresence;|| creation, preservation, destruction; the immortality of the soul, individual responsibility, atonement for sin, resurrection to judgment, heaven and hell; and a belief in unseen beings pervading space, and seeking to obtain a directing influence over probationary creatures for good or for evil.¶ But these cardinal points are mingled with pernicious doctrines, supersti-

without His like,—indivisible and infinite,—the origin of all existing things, movable or stationary.”

|| The Hindoo expression means *all-pervasive*.

¶ The Hindoos believe the Deity to be in everything, and they typify Him in accordance with their imaginations. *Brahm* or *Brihm* is supposed to have had three incarnations, viz., *Brahma*, the *Creator*; *Vishnu*, the *Preserver*; *Siva*, the *Destroyer*:—who have become incarnate at different times and in various forms, for many objects. To these are added innumerable inferior gods, presiding over earth, air, and water, and whatever may be therein. Temples and shrines are erected to a multitude of deities, to whom homage or worship is tendered, and tribute or offerings made. The Pagan deities, in every country and in all ages, have more or less an affinity to each other; they refer, generally, to the powers of nature, and to the wants or civilising appliances of man; but they all merge into, or centre in, one Supreme Being: thus there was an intimate relation between the Greek and Indian mythology. The Brahminical and the Magian faith had many points of union: the sun was the ostensible representation of Divine power; the fire-altar of both may be traced to that of the Hebrews; and the idolatry of the calf, cow, or bull, have all a common origin. Ferishta states that, during the era of Roostum, when Soorya, a Hindoo, reigned over Hindoostan, a Brahmin persuaded the king “to set up idols; and from that period the Hindoos became idolaters, before which they, like the Persians, worshipped the sun and stars.”—(Vol. i., p. 68.) The Mythrae religion at one time existed in all the countries between the Bosphorus and the Indus; vestiges are still seen at Persepolis, at Bamian, and in various parts of India. In all Pagan systems there is a vagueness with reference to the Deity; for it is only through the Saviour that God can be known. With regard to the soul, it is thus negatively described by the author of the great Hindoo work, entitled *Mahabarat*:—“Some regard the soul as a wonder; others hear of it with astonishment; but no one knoweth it: the weapon divideth it not, the fire burneth it not, the water corrupteth it not, the wind dryeth it not away; for it is indivisible, inconsumable, incorruptible: it is eternal, universal, permanent, immovable; it is invisible, inconceivable, and unalterable.” The *sbastras*, or “sacred” books, contain also many remarkable and even sublime passages; but their character

tious observances, cruel rites, and carnal indulgences; hence the pure, merciful, and loving* character of God is unknown, the innately sinful nature of man imperfectly understood, the positive necessity of a Redeemer unappreciated, and the urgent want of a Sanctifier unfelt.

It is not therefore surprising, that in the yearnings of the spirit for a higher, holier enjoyment than this world can afford, that sincere devotees in India, as in other countries and in every age, devoid of the light of Christianity, deem suicide a virtue;† torture of the body a substitute for penance of the soul;‡ ablation sufficient for purification; solitude the only mode of avoiding temptation; offerings to idols an atonement for sin; pilgrimages to saintly shrines a

is well summed up by the Rev. William Arthur, who has attentively studied the subject. This Christian writer says—"Taking those books as a whole, no works of our most shameless authors are so unblushing or so deleterious: the *Sama Veda* treats drunkenness as a celestial pastime; all the gods are represented as playing at will with truth, honour, chastity, natural affection, and every virtue, running for sport into the vilest excesses, and consecrating by their example all hateful deeds. Falsehood, if with a pious motive, has a direct sanction. Menu declares that 'a giver of false evidence from a pious motive, even though he know the truth, shall not lose a seat in heaven: such evidence men call divine speech.' Vishnu has often preserved the gods by the most wicked impostures. Lies flow familiarly from divine lips, and thus lose all disrepute in mortal eyes. The amours of the gods are so detailed as to corrupt all who read and admire them; while they argue, on the part of the writers, a horrible familiarity with every variety of debauch. In the lofty poetry of the sacred books are musically sung expressions of a coarseness that would be spurned from the vilest ballad. Part of the retinue of every temple consists of priestesses, who are the only educated women in the country, and whose profession it is to corrupt the public morals. In some of the temples, excesses are at certain times openly committed which would be concealed even in our lowest dens of vice."—(Arthur's *Mission to Mysoor*, p. 489. London: Hamilton, Paternoster-row.) Such is the system; and this is but a faint shadowing of its fearful wickedness, against which Christianity has to contend. Simple aboriginal tribes have an indefinite notion of an Almightly superintending providence. Thus the Todawar of the Neilgherries, on first seeing the sun daily, or a lamp, uses the following prayer, with his face turned to the sky:—"Oh! thou the Creator of this and of all worlds—the greatest of the great, who art with us as well in these mountains as in the wilderness,—who keepest the wreaths that adorn our heads from fading, and who guardest the foot from the thorn—God among a hundred—may we be prosperous." They believe that the soul, after death, goes to the *Om-nor* (large country), about which they have scarcely an idea; they sacrifice living animals, and burn them on a rude altar: the dead are buried in a dark, secluded valley. A blood sacrifice is deemed essential by all these tribes, to procure remission from sin. The relative antiquity of Brahminism and Buddhism,—their common origin and separation,—their points of unity or dissonance,—and the various other forms of religion in India, are subjects beyond my limits in this work.

* The only love that I can find recognised in reference to the Deity, is similar to that acknowledged by the Greeks: hence Sir William Jones thus apostrophises the Hindoo Cameo or Kama Deva (Cupid):—

"Where'er thy seat, whate'er thy name,
Earth, sea, and sky, thy reign proclaim:
Wreathy smiles and rosy treasures,
Are thy purest, sweetest pleasures;
All animals to thee thy tribute bring,
And hail thee universal king!"

I quote from memory this beautiful version of Indian stanzas.

means of obtaining peace or rest; the maintenance of perpetual fire the highest privilege; contemplation of God the nearest approximation to communion; and human sacrifice a propitiation of Divine wrath.‡

With such creeds and such worship, perpetuated for centuries, the votaries, both priests and laymen, must necessarily be sunk to a depth of degradation from whence no mere human efforts can elevate them, and which the untiring perseverance of Christianity, with the guidance of the Spirit, can only hope to meliorate in the existing generation.

Among the numerous creeds which pervade India, the most prominent are Hindooism, or worshippers of Brahm;§ Buddhists, devoted to Buddh;¶ Parsees, disciples of Zoroaster; ** Moslems,†† followers of

† See section on crime for the number of suicides committed annually at Madras.

‡ The self-inflicted torture which Hindoo fanatics undergo, with a view to the remission of sin, and to obtain the favour of their deity, is revolting; but it indicates strong feelings on the subject. Among them may be mentioned:—standing for years on the legs, which become swollen and putrefying masses of corruption; keeping an arm erect until the muscles of the *humerus* are attenuated and the joint ankylosed (fixed in the socket); lying on a bed of spikes until the smooth skin is converted into a series of indurated nodules; turning the head over the shoulders, and gazing at the sky, so that, when fixed in that posture, the twist of the gullet prevents aught but liquids passing into the stomach; crawling like reptiles, or rolling as a hedgehog along the earth for years; swinging before a slow fire, or hanging with the head downwards, suspended over fierce flames; piercing the tongue with spits; inserting an iron rod in the eye-socket, from which a lamp is hung; burying up to the neck in the ground; clenching the fist until the nails grow through the back of the hand; fasting for forty or the greatest practicable number of days; gazing at the sun with four fires around, until blindness ensues. These are some of the practices of the Yogis or Sanyases, and other devotees.

§ The Ganges is considered sacred by the orthodox Hindoos, and its waters everywhere, from their source in the Himalaya to their exit in the Bay of Bengal, are regarded with peculiar sanctity. It is supposed that, at the moment of dissolution, a person placed therein will have all his transgressions obliterated. Should a Hindoo be far distant, the Brahmins enjoin that he should think intensely of the Ganges at the hour of death, and he will not fail of his reward. To die within sight of the stream is pronounced to be holy; to die besmeared with its mud, and partly immersed in the river, holier still; even to be drowned in it by accident, is supposed to secure eternal happiness. Until the close of the 18th century, the Brahmins, taking advantage of this superstitious idea, persuaded tens of thousands of Hindoos to assemble in January annually on the island of Gunga Saugar, at the sea mouth of the Ganges, to perform obsequies for the good of their deceased ancestors, and to induce many hundred children to be cast living into the torrent by their parents, as a means of atonement for the sin of their souls. Lord Wellesley abolished this wickedness.—(*Baptist Mission*, vol. i., p. 111.) Among some aboriginal tribes, a child is not unfrequently slain when the agricultural season is commencing, and the fields sprinkled with the blood of the innocent, to propitiate the earth god, in the expectation of procuring thereby an abundant harvest.

¶ For a description of Hindooism, see Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*, in 7 vols. 8vo; Ward's *Mythology of the Hindoos*, 4 vols. 4to; Moor's *Hindoo Pantheon*; Coleman's *Mythology of the Hindoos*; Vans Kennedy's *Researches*; various volumes of the Asiatic Society; the *Asiatic Journal* of London; and the *Journal Asiatique* of Paris.

¶ For Buddhism, see the works of Upham and Hardy.

** See the *Zendavesta*, or code of Zoroaster.

†† See Sale's *Koran*; and Taylor's *Mohammedanism*.

Mohammed; Seiks, attached to Nanik;* Gonds, Koles, Bheels, Sonthals, Pubarees, and other aboriginal tribes, distinct from all the preceding; Jews (white and black), Syriac, Armenian, and Latin Christians; representatives of the churches of England, Denmark, and Germany; Scotch Presbyterian, Baptist, Wesleyan, Congregational, and North American missions.† Each persuasion or sect would require one or more volumes for elucidation: all that is practicable, is a very brief description of the rise and progress of protestant missions in Hindoostan.

Christianity prevailed to some extent in India from an early date; but we have no certain knowledge of its introduction under the denomination of Syriac, or any other church.‡

The Portuguese, soon after their arrival, attempted the conversion of the Hindoos, with whom they were brought in contact, to the Romish form of Christianity, by jesuitism and the inquisition; and necessarily failed, as they did in China and in Japan. The Dutch, engrossed with commerce, made little or no attempt to extend the Calvinistic creed; the French were equally indifferent; but the King of

* This reformer, at the beginning of the 16th century, attempted to construct in the Punjab a pure and peaceful system of religion out of the best elements of Hindooism and Mohammedanism: his followers (the Seiks) became devastating conquerors; and infanticide and other abominable crimes still fearfully prevail among this warlike race.

† See Hough's valuable *History of Christianity in India*, 4 vols. 8vo, 1839; Cox's *History of Baptist Missions*, 2 vols.; Pearson's *Lives of Dr. Claudius Buchanan* (2 vols.) and of *Schwartz*, 2 vols. 8vo; Arthur's graphic *Mission to the Mysoor*, 1 vol.; Duff on *India Missions*; Hoole's *Missions to South of India*; Pegg's *Orissa*, 1 vol.; *Memoir of W. Carey*; *Life of Judson*; and other interesting missionary works.

‡ Thomas Herbert, author of *Some Yeares Travels into divers parts of Asia and Afrique* (published in London in 1638, and who began his voyaging in 1626), speaks of there being Christians in many places; and refers especially to several maritime towns in Malabar. He says—"The Christians in these parts differ in some things from us, and from the Papacie yet retain many principles of the orthodox and catholic doctrine: their churches are low, and but poorly furnished; their vassalage will reach no further, whether from their subjection, or that (so the temples of their bodies bee replenish with vertue) the excellency of buildings conferre not holinesse I know not: neat they are, sweetly kept; matted, without seats, and instead of images have some select and usefull texts of holy writ obviously writ or painted. They assemble and haste to church each Lord's day with great alacrity: at their entering they shut their eyes, and contemplate the holiness of the place, the exercise they come about, and their own unworthinesse: as they kneele they look towards the altar or table near which the bishop or priest is seated, whom they salute with a low and humble reverence, who returns his blessing by the uplifting of his hands and eyes: at a set houre they begin prayers, above two houres seldom continuing: first they have a short generall confession, which they follow the priest in, and assent in an unanim amen: then follows an exposition of some part or text of holy Scripture, during which their attention, dejected looks, and silence, is admirable; they sing an hymne," &c. Herbert then proceeds to observe that they have the Old and New Testaments; they baptize commonly at the fortieth day, if the parents do not sooner desire it; they observe two days' strict preparation for the holy communion, eating no flesh, and having no revelry; in the church they confess their sins and demerits with great reluctance: after the arrival of the Portuguese they shaved their heads. The clergy marry but once, the laity twice; no divorce, save for adultery. Lent begins in spring, is strictly ob-

Denmark, in the spirit of Lutheranism, encouraged, in 1706, the Tranquebar missionaries in their meritorious efforts to preach the gospel of Christ to the natives in the vernacular tongue; and for more than a century many devoted men, including Ziegenbalg, Schwartz, Gericke, Schultze, and others, laboured patiently in the south of India for the extension of the Divine mission of truth and peace; but failed, by permitting the intermingling of heathen customs with the purity of life which admits of no such toleration. The British church§ and government for many years made no response to appeals on behalf of Christianity. The latter was not merely negative or apathetic; it became positive and active, in resistance to the landing of missionaries in the territories under its control; and when, at the close of the 18th century, the Danish and other continental churches had almost retired in despair from the field, and the Baptists (under the leadership of Carey and Thomas) sought to occupy some of the abandoned ground, they and their able coadjutors, Marshman and Ward, were compelled to seek an asylum at the Danish settlement of Serampore, on the banks of the Hooghly, 15 m. above Calcutta.||

served for forty days; they "affect justice, peace, truth, humility, obedience," &c. When dead, the bodies are placed in the grave looking west towards Jerusalem, and they "believe no purgatory." St. Thomas is their acknowledged tutelar saint and patron.—(Lib. iii., on East Indian Christians, p. 304-'5.)

§ The E. I. Cy's. charter of 1698 directed ministers of religion to be placed in each "garrison and superior factory," and a "decent and convenient place to be set apart for divine service only:" the ministers were to learn the Portuguese and the native languages, "the better to enable them to instruct the Gentoos that shall be the servants or slaves of the said company, or of their agents, in the protestant religion." By the charter of 1698, the company were required to employ a chaplain on board of every ship of 500 tons' burthen. This regulation was evaded by hiring vessels, nominally rated at 499 tons, but which were in reality, by building measurement, 600 to 650 tons.—(Milburn, i., p. lvi.) Some clergymen of the Church of England were sent out to India from time to time; but with a few exceptions (whose honoured deeds are recorded by Hough in his *History of Christianity in India*), such men as Dr. Claudius Buchanan, Dr. Kerr, David Brown, Corrie, and Henry Martyn, had not many imitators: they "performed duty" on the sabbath; looked after money and other matters during the week; and, at the termination of their routine official life, returned to Europe with fortunes ranging from £20,000 to £50,000 each. Kiernaoder, the Danish missionary, mentions, in 1793, three of these misnamed ministers of the gospel (Blanshard, Owen, and Johnston), then about to return to England with fortunes of 500,000, 350,000, and 200,000 rupees each; which (Mr. Kaye observes) shows, according to their period of service, "an annual average saving of £2,500."—(*Hist. of Admn. of E. I. Cy.*, p. 630.)

|| During its early career the E. I. Cy. paid some attention to religion, and a church was built at Madras; but as commerce and politics soon absorbed all attention, the ministrations of religion were forgotten, and not inaptly typified by the fate of the church erected at Calcutta by pious merchants and seamen, who were freemasons, about the year 1716, when the E. I. Cy. allowed the young merchants £50 a-year "for their pains in reading prayers and a sermon on a Sunday." In October, 1737, a destructive hurricane, accompanied by a violent earthquake, swept over Bengal, and among damages, it is recorded that "the high and magnificent steeple of the English church sunk into the ground without breaking."—(*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1738.) Christianity certainly about this time sunk out of sight in India, without being broken or destroyed, and it is now rising into pre-

The Marquis Wellesley gave encouragement to devout missionaries of every Christian persuasion;* but during the administrations of Lord Minto and of the Marquis of Hastings, there was direct opposition to the ministers of the Cross, who were obliged to proceed from England to the United States, and sail in an American vessel to their destination. Some were prohibited landing on British ground, others were obliged to re-embark; ships were refused a port entrance if they had a missionary on board, as they were deemed more dangerous than the plague or the invasion of a French army: and the governor of Serampore, when desired by the Calcutta authorities to expel Drs. Carey, Marshman, and others, nobly replied,—they might compel him to pull down the flag of the Danish king, but he would not refuse a refuge and a home to those whose sole object was the temporal and spiritual welfare of their fellow-beings. Despite the most powerful official discountenance, the missionary cause ultimately triumphed. The Church of England became an effective auxiliary. Calcutta, in 1814, was made the see of a bishop, under Dr. Middleton; and his amiable suzerainty by the aid of that very E. I. Cy. who, a century ago, were so indifferent, and half a century since, so hostile to its introduction or discussion in Hindoostan. In 1805, the Rev. Dr. Claudius Buchanan, government chaplain at Calcutta, issued a *Memoir on the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India, both as a means of perpetuating the Christian Religion among our own Countrymen, and as a foundation for the ultimate Civilisation of the Natives*. The memoir was dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and the appendix comprised a variety of instructive matter on the superstitions of the Hindoos. The work was in fact a forcible appeal to the Christians of Britain for the evangelisation of India, and was exceedingly well received by the bishops of London (Porteous), Llandaff (Watson), Durham, Exeter, St. David's, and other eminent divines. In India the memoir caused great excitement among that portion of the government who "viewed with sensitive alarm, for the security of our empire in the East, the circulation of the Word of God."—(Hough, iv., 179.) Contrasts were drawn between Hindooism and Christianity, to the prejudice of the latter, by Europeans who still professed that faith; and in November, 1807, Dr. Buchanan memorialised the governor-general (Lord Minto), on the change of policy from that which the Marquis Wellesley had pursued. Among the points complained of were—*First*, withdrawing the patronage of government from the translation of the Scriptures into the Oriental languages; *secondly*, attempting to suppress the translations; *thirdly*, suppressing the encomium of the Court of Directors of the E. I. Cy. on the character and proceedings of the venerable missionary Schwartz; and *fourthly*, restraining the Protestant missionaries in Bengal from the exercise of their functions, and establishing an *imprimatur* for theological works. Sermons which Dr. Buchanan had delivered on the Christian prophecies, he was desired by the chief secretary to transmit to government for its inspection, which he properly declined to do. In 1813 several missionaries from different societies were ordered to quit India without delay; one in particular (Mr. Johns), was told if he did not take his passage *immediately*, he would be forcibly carried on board ship. Two members of the American board of missions, on arriving at Bombay, were ordered away by Sir E. Nepean, and directed to proceed to England; they left in a coasting vessel, landed at Cochín on their way to Ceylon, and were sent back to Bombay as prisoners. Sir E. Nepean was a religious man, and ultimately obtained permission for the missionaries to remain.

* The opposition of the home authorities to the college of Fort William, which was founded by the Marquis Wellesley, had reference chiefly to the religious design of

cessor (Heber) removed many prejudices, and paved the way for a general recognition of the necessity and duty of affording to the people of India the means of becoming acquainted with the precepts of Christianity. The thin edge of the wedge being thus fairly inserted in the stronghold of idolatry, the force of truth drove it home; point by point, step by step, the government were fairly beaten from positions which became untenable. It was tardily admitted that some missionaries were good men, and did not intend or desire to overthrow the dominion of England in the East; next it was soon acknowledged that they had a direct and immediate interest in upholding the authorities, as the most effectual security for the prosecution of their pious labours. Soon after the government ceased to dismiss civil and military servants because they had become Christians; then came the public avowal, that all the Europeans in India had not left their religion at the Cape of Good Hope, on their passage from England, to be resumed on their return; but that they still retained a spark of the living faith, and ought no longer to be ashamed to celebrate its rites.† When the noble founder. Dr. Claudius Buchanan pointed out that it was a mistake to consider the sole object was merely to "instruct the company's writers." Lord Wellesley's idea, as Dr. Buchanan correctly states, was "to enlighten the Oriental world, to give science, religion, and pure morals to Asia, and to confirm in it the British power and dominion." The Doctor adds—"Had the college of Fort William been cherished at home with the same ardour with which it was opposed, it might, in the period of ten years, have produced translations of the Scriptures into all the languages from the borders of the Caspian to the Sea of Japan."—(Pearson's *Life of Dr. C. Buchanan*, i., 374.)

† The Rev. M. Thomason, father of the late excellent lieutenant-governor of the N. W. Provinces, was dismissed from the governor-general's (Earl Moira) camp, in June, 1814, because he remonstrated against "the desecration of the sabbath, and other improprieties of conduct."—(Hough, iv., 383.) At Madras, a collector (civil servant of high standing) was removed from the service for distributing tracts on Christianity among the natives. In Bombay, the state of Christianity at the commencement of the present century was indeed very low; immorality was general. Governor Duncan, a kind and benevolent man, rarely attended divine service; and the late lamented Sir Charles Forbes told me, that though educated in the sabbatical strictness of the Scotch kirk, the effect of evil example on youth carried him with the stream, and that Sunday was the weekly meeting of the "Bobbery hunt" (a chase on horseback of jackals or pariah dogs), and its concomitant, drinking and other excesses. Henry Martyn, when visiting Bombay in 1811, on his way to Shiraz, speaking of the Europeans, says—"I am here amongst men who are indeed aliens to the commonwealth of Israel, and without God in the world. I hear many of those amongst whom I live bring idle objections against religion such as I have answered a hundred times." At the cantonments and revenue stations, marriages and baptisms were usually performed by military and civil servants. Many English officers never saw a church or minister of the gospel for years. Earnest representations for the erection of even small chapels were disregarded by the government, and the young cadets soon sank into drinking, debauchery, and vice. In 1807 not a Bible was to be found in the shops at Madras—it was not a saleable article; religious books were at a similar discount: the first purchasable Bible arrived in 1809. The observation of thoughtful old natives, for many years, on the English was—"Christian Man—Devil Man." If Charles Grant, who laboured so earnestly and effectively half a century for the introduction of Christian principles into India, were now alive, he would perceive that the above reproach

this vantage-ground was gained, other triumphs necessarily followed.* The Scriptures, which the British and Foreign Bible Society, and also the Baptists, had been engaged in translating and printing, were now openly distributed. "Toleration" was no longer conceded only to Hindooism and other idolatries; it was extended to Christianity: and the principle was urged boldly, that the state should renounce all interference in the shameful orgies of Juggernaut and other Pagan abominations;—that the car of this idol and its obscene priests should cease to be annually decorated with scarlet cloth and tinsel, specially provided by the E. I. Cy.; and that the troops, English and Mohammedan, should no longer have their feelings outraged by being compelled to do honour to disgusting rites which were a mockery to the true and living God.†

The demoniac practice of *suttee* (widow-burning), was formidably assailed by the missionaries and other good men. To sanction the crime of suicide was admitted to be repugnant to the character of a

to his countrymen was removed, and there would be found many co-operators in the evangelising work.

* Up to 1851 the operations of the society, as regards India, were:—Sanskrit gospels and acts, 8,200; Hindoo Testament (*Roman*), 31,000; Urdu Persian portions of Old Testament, Urdu Persian gospels and acts, 82,000. *Northern and Central India*.—Bengalee portions of Old Testament, Bengalee and English St. Matthew and St. John, Bengalee Testament (*Roman*), Bengalee, with English Testament (*Roman*), 130,842; Uriya Bible, 16,000; Hinduwee Old Testament, 4,000; Harrottee Testament, 1,000; Bikanera Testament, 1,000; Moultan Testament, 1,000; Punjabee Testament, 7,000; Cashmerian Testament, 1,000; Nepaulese Testament, 1,000; Sindhee St. Matthew, 500. *Southern India*.—Telinga Testament, 33,000; Canarese Bible, 10,000; Tamul Bible, 105,000; Malayalim New Testament, Malayalim Old Testament, 32,065; Tulu Testament, 400; Kunkuna Testament, 2,000; Mahratta Testament, 30,000; Guzerattee Testament, 20,100; Cutbee St. Matthew, 500.

† In August, 1836, the Bishop of Madras, the clergy of every denomination, several civil and military servants, merchants, &c., addressed a memorial to the governor of Madras, the summary of which prayed, that in accordance with the instructions laid down by the Court of Directors, 28th February, 1833, guaranteeing toleration, but affording no encouragement to Mohammedan or heathen rites—"That it be not hereafter required of any Christian servant of the state, civil or military, of any grade, to make an offering, or to be present at, or to take part in, any idolatrous or Mohammedan act of worship or religious festival. That the firing of salutes, the employment of military bands, and of the government troops in honour of idolatrous or Mohammedan processions or ceremonies, and all similar observances which infringe upon liberty of conscience, and directly 'promote the growth and popularity of the debasing superstitions of the country,' be discontinued. That such parts of Regulation VII. of 1817, as identify the government with Mohammedanism and heathenism, be rescinded, and every class of persons left, as the honourable Court of Directors have enjoined, entirely to themselves, to follow their religious duties according to the dictates of their consciences." The governor (Sir Frederick Adam) administered to the bishop and to the memorialists a sharp rebuke, saying, he did not concur in their sentiments, which he viewed with "the deepest pain and concern," as they manifested the "zeal of over-heated minds," and that the "communication" (worded in a guarded and Christian spirit) "was fraught with danger to the peace of the country, and destructive of the harmony which should prevail amongst all classes of the community."—(Parl. Papers—Commons, No. 357; 1st June, 1837; p. 5.) The E. I. Cy. and her Majesty's government thought differently: the prayer of

professing Christian government, which had already forcibly suppressed infanticide; and notwithstanding many forebodings of danger, and considerable opposition by the enemies of missionaries,† self-murder was, on Dec. 4, 1829, during the administration of Lord William Bentinck, suppressed throughout British India, by a prohibitory edict of the supreme government; under which all persons aiding and abetting *suttee* were liable to the penalty inflicted for culpable homicide. There was not the slightest opposition to this ordinance throughout India.§ Widow-burning, however, still continues in several provinces which are not under our immediate government.

Many other advantages accrued from the course of Christian polity now fairly begun;—the government ceased to hold slaves, and passed a decree mitigating some of the evils of the system; churches were erected at the principal civil and military stations; and chaplains were appointed for the celebration of public worship at European stations.|| In 1834, bishoprics were founded at Madras and Bombay.

the memorialists was ultimately granted; and the peace of India and the harmony of its people was never for a moment disturbed. But previous to the final concession, Lieutenant-general Sir T. Maitland resigned the command of the Madras army rather than be a participator in offering honours to idols by sending the troops to assist at the Hindoo celebrations. Colonel Jacob, an old artillery officer, stated before the House of Commons' committee, 4th August, 1853, when referring to the attendance of British troops at idolatrous ceremonies—"I was myself in that position at Baroda, on the occasion of the Dusserah festival, when we were waiting for six hours in the sun at the beck and bidding of the Brahmins, who announced the fortunate hour, as they apprehended, for the Guicowar to go and sacrifice a fowl to the Dusserah. The whole of the force was under arms, and the British resident attended on the same elephant with the prince. Upon the Brahmins cutting off the head of the fowl, the signal was given, and I had to fire a salute." This Christian officer adds—"Within our own presidency, under the British flag, there can be no sort of excuse whatever for forcing British officers to take part in an heathen or idolatrous procession or worship, such as the cocoa-nut offerings, annually at Surat, by the governor's agent. At Madras, when I was there some years ago, the government sanction was directly given to idolatrous practices by presenting offerings of broadcloth to the Brahmins, for them to pray to the idol deity to save the Carnatic from invasion."—(Parl. Papers—Commons; 6th August, 1853; p. 151.)

‡ The Brahmins, who had originated *suttee* to prevent their widows remarrying, declared it was a religious rite, and on this ground several English functionaries objected to its forcible suppression; but the doctrine laid down by Menu, the great Hindoo lawgiver, does not sustain the assertion. The texts referring to the subject run thus:—"A faithful wife, who wishes to attain in heaven the mansion of her husband, must do nothing unkind to him be he living or dead. Let her emaciate her body by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruits; but let her not, when her husband is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man. Let her continue until death forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue which have been followed by such women as have been devoted to one only husband."

§ I was happily enabled to be of some use in preparing the public mind for this great event by writing articles on the subject, and addressing them, when translated into different languages, to the Hindoo population.

|| Until recently the spirit under which the Anglo-Indian government was administered, was the protection and encouragement of Brahminism and Mohammedanism, and the disavowal of any connection with Christianity. Thus, as

Gradually the state, so far as is alleged to be compatible with pledged faith, ceased to interfere in the temporal concerns of idolatrous shrines; the forfeiture of property by Hindoos who had become converts to Christianity, was no longer recognised as the law; native Christians became equally eligible with their fellow-citizens to public offices. Finally, several of the highest functionaries have openly avowed, that the best means for effecting an improvement in even the physical condition of the people, is by the diffusion of Christianity; and that the main-

stay for the security of British dominion in India, is the inculcation and practice of its divine precepts. Such are the glorious results of nearly half a century* spent in peaceful but unceasing efforts on behalf of truth; and I now proceed to show the means in operation for continuing the great work which has been so signally blessed in its course. The following data show the state of the Church of England establishment,† and that of the principal protestant missions in India, at the present period:—

Tabular View of the Church Missionary Society's Operations—1855.

Principal Stations.	Churches, Preaching places, &c.	Ordained Missionaries.		Lay Teachers, &c.					Grand Total of Labourers.	Native Christians.	Communicants.	Seminaries and Schools.	Scholars.			Printing Establishments.	
		Europeans.	East Indian and Native.	European, Male and Female.	East Indian and Country-born.	Natives.		Total.					Male.	Female.	Total.		
						Catechists & Readers.	School Teachers.										
BOMBAY & W. INDIA	++																
Bombay	—	5	1	2	2	1	11	16	22	64	12	22	1,354	236	1,590	—	—
Nasik	—	3	—	—	—	2	—	2	5	78	17	5	177	16	193	—	—
Junir and Malligaum	—	1	2	—	—	1	—	1	4	45	19	4	179	—	179	—	—
Sinde mission	—	3	1	1	—	—	—	1	5	14	4	2	34	—	34	—	—
CALCUTTA & N. INDIA	++																
Calcutta	—	4	—	1	1	13	26	41	45	716	181	15	1,220	59	1,279	—	—
Burdwan district	—	2	—	—	1	3	21	25	27	206	51	9	586	50	636	—	—
Krishaghurh dist.	—	9	—	3	—	31	95	129	138	5,069	465	62	3,558	508	4,066	—	—
Bhagulpoor	—	1	—	—	1	3	5	9	10	105	29	4	160	150	310	—	—
Benares	—	5	—	1	1	5	31	38	43	321	91	3	589	—	589	—	—
Jaunpoor	—	1	—	1	—	2	19	22	23	22	9	5	467	32	499	—	—
Goruckpoor	—	3	—	—	—	5	14	19	22	217	30	3	100	117	217	—	—
Jubbulpoor	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	2	2	—	—	1	—	6	6	—	—
Agra	—	4	—	2	3	7	24	36	40	544	173	11	538	67	605	—	—
Meerut	—	3	—	1	—	6	7	14	17	247	99	7	226	17	243	—	—
Himalaya	—	2	—	—	—	2	9	11	13	21	11	7	111	15	126	—	—
Punjab mission	—	3	1	—	—	3	3	6	10	50	20	2	45	7	52	—	—
Peshawur	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
MADRAS & S. INDIA																	
Madras	4	2	3	2	3	4	20	29	34	606	199	12	279	297	576	—	—
Tinnevely dist.	353	14	7	7	4	187	378	576	597	27,920	3,565	327	5,131	3,020	8,151	1	1
Travancore district	25	9	2	2	—	36	95	133	144	5,007	1,242	83	1,802	442	2,244	1	1
Teluga mission	2	3	1	—	2	1	24	27	31	131	14	5	76	143	219	—	—
Totals	384	79	18	25	18	312	783	1,138	1,235	41,373	6,231	589	16,632	5,182	2,1814	2	2

† No returns.

stated by the Rev. J. Lechman, in his evidence before parliament (8th August, 1853), "the government have maintained for thirty years an institution for the instruction of its Mobammedan subjects in their creed, but has not maintained any college or school for the exclusive instruction of its Christian subjects."

* The Rev. W. Mullens thus sums up the progress of missions during the present century:—"Within a few years stations were established in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and began to push outward into all the presidencies of Hindoostan. The beginnings were slow but sure. One society, then another—one missionary and then another, landed on the coast, and took up their posts on the great battle-field of idolatry. The London Missionary Society sent missionaries to Chinsurah, to Travancore, to Madras, Vizagapatam, Bellary, and to Surat. The American board, after some opposition from the government, occupied Bombay. The Church Missionary Society entered first on the old missions at Madras, Tranquebar, and Palamcottah; but soon began an altogether new field among the Syrian Christians in West Travancore. They planted a station at Agra, far

in the north-west, and maintained the agency which Corrie had employed at Chuuar. A native preacher began the work at Meerut, while two missionaries were stationed in Calcutta. The Baptist Missionary Society soon occupied Jessore, Chittagong, Dinagepore, and other places. The Wesleyans speedily obtained a footing in Mysoor; and to them succeeded the missionaries of the American board. North, south, east, and west, the Church of Christ was pushing forth its men and means into the land with vigour and earnestness of purpose." There is much wanting for India a *Medical Missionary Society*, similar in its working to the institution (composed of Americans and British) under this title which is now accomplishing so much good in China.

† There is a large Roman catholic establishment consisting of bishops, vicars-general, and inferior clergy, not only at Goa and Pondicherry, but also at the British stations: their number is alleged to have been, in 1853, about 303, of whom 200 were Europeans; and of these forty are British. The Roman catholic community throughout India is estimated at 690,000, exclusive of about 15,000 soldiers.

516 ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENTS—BENGAL, MADRAS, BOMBAY.

Statement showing the Number and Expense of the Ecclesiastical Establishments under each Presidency, in the Year 1832-'33, and in 1851-'52.

1832-'33.			1851-'52.		
BENGAL:—			BENGAL:—		
	S. Rupees.			Cos. Rupees.	
1 Bishop	43,103		1 Bishop	45,977	
1 Archdeacon	17,241		1 Archdeacon (also a Chaplain)	3,200	
2 Senior Chaplains	26,724		2 Senior Chaplains	27,912	
35 Chaplains	317,606		19 Chaplains, at 9,600 francs each	1,82,400	
2 ditto (at Straits settlements)	18,372		40 Assistant Chaplains, at 6,000 francs each	2,40,000	
1 Officiating ditto	2,871		2 ditto ditto at 9,600 " " } (stational in Straits settlements)	19,200	
Visitation and travelling allowances, es- tablishment, and contingencies	54,908		Visitation and travelling allowances, es- tablishment, & contingencies in 1849-'50 }	47,61	
Total church establishment	480,825		Total church establishment	5,66,450	
<i>Scotch Kirk—</i>			<i>Scotch Kirk—</i>		
2 Chaplains	22,414		2 Chaplains	23,112	
<i>Roman Catholic—</i>			Establishment	576	
Allowance to priests at Straits settlements	5,254		Total Scotch Kirk	23,688	
Total Bengal	508,493		<i>Roman Catholic—</i>		
MADRAS:—	Ms. Rupees.		Allowance to priests	21,840	
1 Archdeacon	19,091		Total Bengal Rs.	6,11,978	
2 Senior Chaplains	26,160		MADRAS:—		
21 Chaplains, at 7,875 rupees each	165,375		1 Bishop	25,600	
Travelling allowances, establishment, and contingencies	32,576		1 Archdeacon (also a Chaplain)	3,200	
Total church establishment	213,202		2 Senior Chaplains	26,160	
<i>Scotch Kirk—</i>			9 Chaplains, at 8,400 rupees each	75,600	
2 Chaplains	19,635		18 Assistant Chaplains, at 6,000 rupees each	1,08,000	
Establishment	1,050		Visitation and travelling allowances, es- tablishment, and contingencies	50,460	
Total Scotch Kirk	20,685		Total church establishment	289,020	
<i>Roman Catholic—</i>			<i>Scotch Kirk—</i>		
Allowance to priests	5,744		2 Chaplains	19,635	
Total Madras	{ Ms. Rs. 269,631 Sco. Rs. 252,889		Establishment	1,323	
BOMBAY:—	By. Rupees.		Total Scotch Kirk	20,958	
1 Archdeacon	17,778		<i>Roman Catholic—</i>		
2 Senior Chaplains	28,560		Allowance to priests	10,320	
13 Chaplains	104,000		Total Madras Rs.	3,20,298	
Travelling allowances, establishment, and contingencies	36,647		BOMBAY:—		
Total church establishment	186,985		1 Bishop	25,600	
<i>Scotch Kirk—</i>			1 Archdeacon (also a Chaplain)	3,200	
2 Chaplains	20,382		2 Senior Chaplains	26,160	
Establishment, &c.	1,389		5 Chaplains, at 8,400 rupees each	42,000	
Total Scotch Kirk	21,771		16 Assistant Chaplains, at 6,000 rupees each	96,000	
<i>Roman Catholic—</i>			Visitation and travelling allowances, es- tablishment, and contingencies	30,127	
Allowance to priests	4,440		Total church establishment	223,087	
Total Bombay	{ By. Rs. 213,196 Sco. Rs. 202,158		<i>Scotch Kirk—</i>		
Grand Total	{ Ss. Rupees 963,540 or £ stg. 96,354		2 Chaplains	20,160	
			Establishment	948	
			Total Scotch Kirk	21,144	
			<i>Roman Catholic—</i>		
			Allowance to priests	22,800	
			Total Bombay Rs.	2,67,031	
			Grand Total	Cos. Rs. 11,99,307 or £ 112,435	

Abstract.

Years.	Church Establishments.		Scotch Kirk.		Roman Catholic.	Total.
	No. of Persons.	£	No. of Persons.	£	£	£
1832-'33	82	88,623	6	6,246	1,485	96,354
1851-'52	118	101,114	6	6,168	5,153	112,435

*Tabular View of the Wesleyan Missions—1855.—The * indicates that there are no returns obtainable.*

Principal Stations	Chapels	Preaching places.	Missionaries & Assistants.	Subordinate paid Agents.			Unpaid Agents.		Acre- dited Church Members.	On trial for Mem- bership.	Sabbath Schools, both sexes.	Day- Schools.	Day Scholars of both sexes.	Scholars, deducting for those who attend both Sabbath and Week-day Schools.			Attend- ants on Public Worship.	Printing Estab- lish- ments
				Catechists &c.	Day- School Teachers.	Sabbath School Teachers.	Local Preachers.	Males.						Females.	Total.			
Madras	4	3	4	*	*	*	*	189	—	3	205	4	250	170	80	250	*	—
Negapatam	2	6	4	*	*	*	*	14	—	—	—	3	104	104	—	104	*	—
Trichinopoly	3	4	4	*	*	*	*	39	6	—	—	1	165	95	70	165	*	—
Bangalore	2	—	2	13	4	4	4	143	6	1	64	2	682	*	*	682	210	1
Mysoor	1	—	—	3	—	—	—	6	2	—	—	1	150	*	*	150	34	—
Goobbee and Toorn- koor	1	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	211	*	*	211	20	—
Coongul	1	1	1	2	—	—	—	17	—	—	—	2	93	*	*	93	10	—
Total	14	14	15	3	21	4	4	408	14	4	269	14	1,655	*	*	1,655	*	1

Statistics of Mission Churches, connected with the Baptist Missionary Society—1855.

Years.	Name of Stations.	Paid Teachers.	Unpaid Teachers.	Increase during the year.		Received by Dismission.	Decrease during the year.		Total Members.		Candi- dates.	Attend- ance at Public Worship.	Day-Schools.		Sabbath Schools.	
				Baptized.	Restored.		Died.	Dismissed, etc.	Exclud.	Euro- peans.			Natives.	Number.	Attend- ance.	Number.
1808	Circular Road .	—	—	2	—	7	1	—	—	102	—	—	—	—	65	
1809	Lal Bazaar . .	—	—	1	—	2	2	—	—	120	—	—	—	—	50	
1818	Haarrah . . .	2	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50	
1822	Colingah, South	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1839	Intally, South Rd.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1824	Narsigdarchoke	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1850	Bishtopore . .	—	—	1	4	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1829	Khari	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1830	Lakhyantipore .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
—	Dum Dum . . .	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	14	—	—	—	—	—	
1842	Malayapur . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	
1799	Serampore . . .	—	—	15	3	3	3	6	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1804	Cuttwa	1	—	—	—	3	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1804	Jessore	6	—	—	6	—	—	—	9	7	—	—	—	—	7	
1805	Dum Dum . . .	4	—	3	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1816	Dacca	5	—	15	1	3	2	1	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	
1818	Sewry	5	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	58	9	—	—	—	—	
1828	Barisal	10	—	25	9	—	4	5	8	34	—	—	—	—	—	
1812	Chittagong . . .	—	—	—	—	—	4	7	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	
1816	Monghir	6	—	4	—	—	4	—	4	241	12	740	—	—	—	
1817	Benares	22	—	4	—	—	4	—	1	40	4	35	—	—	—	
1817	Aggra	—	—	5	—	6	1	2	2	28	4	106	—	—	—	
1834	Native church .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	1	30	—	—	—	
—	Muttra	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	19	1	—	—	—	—	
1842	Chitoura	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15	—	—	—	—	—	
1849	Cawnpore . . .	—	—	8	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1851	BOMBAY—Poona	1	—	—	—	1	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1853	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
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518 OPERATIONS OF CHRISTIAN BRITAIN IN INDIA—RESULTS.

Statistics of the London Missionary Society's Stations—1855.

Com- menced.	Stations.	Missionaries (in addition to nearly 300 Native Agents.)	Worship- pers.*	Communi- cants.	Schools.	Scholars.	Printing Presses.
	NORTHERN INDIA :—						
1816	Calcutta	7	800	210	6	1,089	—
1824	Berampore	2	96	30	3	144	—
1819	Benares	4	59	20	7	524	—
1838	Mirzapoor	3	97	14	8	581	1
1850	Almorah	1	—	—	4	144	—
1845	Mehi Kantha (near Baroda)	2	120	20	1	30	—
	PENINSULAR INDIA :—						
1805	Madras	3	400	110	15	1,404	—
1852	Tripassore	1	—	40	9	300	—
1805	Vizagapatam	3	100	40	2	256	1
1852	{ Vizianajaram (including Chiea- cole }	2	—	22	6	296	—
1822	Cuddapah	2	700	60	18	450	—
1820	Belgaum	1	180	33	9	410	—
1810	Bellary	4	154	55	11	351	1
1820	Bangalore	5	—	84	12	587	—
1827	Salem	1	287	44	7	213	—
1836	Coimbatore	2	300	45	14	854	—
	SOUTH TRAVANCORE :—						
1819	Nagereoil	4	8,247	601	93	3,856	1
1829	Neyoor	1	2,768	39	44	1,209	1
1838	Pareychaley	1	1,335	98	61	1,891	—
1838	Trevandrum (including Quilon)	1	1,514	82	17	586	—

* The numbers in this column represent the nominal converts; but do not include the heathen, whose numbers, by reason of the irregularity of their attendance on the public services, cannot be reported.

In the beginning of 1852, the number of native Christian churches in India (including Ceylon), was 331; of recorded members (communicants), 18,401; and of worshipping Christians, 112,191: number of missionaries (including forty-eight ordained natives), was 443, together with 598 native catechists belonging to twenty-two missionary societies, who have established 1,347 vernacular day-schools, 93 boarding, 347 day-schools for girls, 120 girls' boarding-schools, 126 superior English schools, throughout the country (*see* Mission returns.) There are eight Bible societies in India, which published, in 1850, no less than 130,000 copies of the Bible, or selections from it, in thirteen languages, and distributed 185,400 copies. There are also fifteen tract societies engaged in supplying works for native Christians—short tracts, or expositions of Bible truth, and school-books for missionary schools. The entire Bible has been translated into ten languages, the New Testament into five others, and separate gospels into four other languages; besides numerous works of Christians;—thirty, forty, and even seventy tracts, suitable for Hindoos and Musulmen, have been prepared in the vernacular. The missionaries maintain twenty-five printing establishments. The cost of all these operations, for 1851, was £190,000, of which £33,540 was contributed by European Christians in India itself.†

This is but a very small beginning of the great work to be accomplished by philanthropists of all classes; the *Urgent Claims of India for more Christian Missions*† has been forcibly set forth by Mr. Muir, of the Bengal civil service: he shows that some of the fairest portions of India have no missionary; that others are supplied in the proportion of one to one million people;—a “long range of fertile

populous countries as much neglected as if they were districts of Japan.”—(p. 12.) Formerly the Hindoos would not listen to the missionaries; now they attend to hear, discuss, and dispute: and, what is still better, they *buy* the books issued from the mission presses, in large quantities.‡ Undoubtedly there is a great change coming over the Indian population, especially of the educated class: the little leaven is fomenting the vast mass. Idolatry cannot long stand before truth, when presented in the manner in which its Divine Founder explained it to His disciples; but the unbeliever must be born again before he can *see* God,—he must be born of water and of the Spirit before he can dwell with Him. The Hindoo is as yet only born of the earth—earthy, with every corruption of our nature in its pristine strength; he is also surrounded and entangled by the meshes of a Satanic system, from which he cannot extricate himself. It seems to be a part of the Divine scheme for man's redemption, to make his fellow-man an instrument in the work of regeneration; for thus both the giver and receiver of good are blessed. Hence, to human eyes, the operation appears slow. But we cannot penetrate the designs of Omnipotence. We cannot tell why millions of Hindoos have been left steeped in the mire of idolatry for ages, and that they should now be raised from darkness into light by a handful of men from the remote isles of the western world; all this, and much more, is a mystery: but may not this singular communion between England and India be as much for the benefit of the former as for that of the latter? May not Britain need, nearly as much as Hindoostan, not only the quickening influence which is able to save and make wise, but also the renovation of the flickering flame of celestial

† *Results of Missionary Labour in India*, by Rev. W. Mullens; reprinted from *Calcutta Review*, October, 1851. London: Dalton, Cockspur-street

‡ Published by Dalton, Cockspur-street, London.

§ These are not solely religious tracts. For instance, at the Wesleyan press in Bangalore, *Robinson Crusoe* has been printed in the vernacular language, with woodcuts: it has an extensive sale.

life, which, until the last few years, burnt dim and fitful here, and needed kindling into a bright and cheering light,—a light whose expanding, vivifying rays may, ere long, spread to the darkest and remotest corners of our globe? Be this as it may, the Anglo-Indian Christian mission is now fairly commenced; a wide and encouraging prospect is open for its meritorious labours. In a mere worldly point of view, an extension of operations is of the utmost importance. Every Hindoo or Moslem converted to the gospel of peace, is an additional security for the permanence of British power. Mere secular men ought therefore to aid this great cause. The day is past in England for attempting to rule a nation by brute force, as if men were beasts of burthen or irreclaimable maniacs. Kindness, consideration, and reasoning, are the instruments of conversion which the missionaries employ, and they are happily in accordance with the dictates and policy of government. There is therefore, in a new sense, a union between church and state in India, devoid of patronage or pecuniary relations, but based on the principle that what is good for the spiritual, must be equally good for the temporal interests of the people.

EDUCATION.—Under both the Hindoo and Moslem governments, the education of the people was, at various times, deemed a matter of public importance; many of the temples now devoted to idolatry and paphian rites, were originally schools and colleges for instruction, endowed with lands for this purpose, and conducted somewhat after the manner of the monastic institutions of Europe: but in both regions the teaching of the young fell into desuetude. The setting apart of a body of men as more sacred than their fellow-mortals,—investing them with peculiar privileges,—furnishing them in abundance with not only the necessities, but also the luxuries of life, for which they were not required to labour,—enjoining celibacy,—and placing them under an ecclesiastical, instead of a civil law applicable to all,—was as pernicious to the scholastic system of Hindoos and Mohammedans as it was to that of the Latins: the funds allocated for the temples and mosques became appropriated solely to the use of a lazy, sensual priesthood; the minds as well as the morals of the people were neglected; and but for the village schools, sustained by each little agricultural community, and the town seminaries, supported by paying pupils, the people of Hindoostan would not even have had the primary elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic, which we found to prevail pretty general among the better classes of the community.

For a considerable period, the Anglo-Indian authorities gave no thought to the subject. In 1781, a Mohammedan madrisa (college) was established at Calcutta, under the patronage of Warren Hastings; and in 1792 a Sanscrit college was founded at Benares by Jonathan Duncan; but the main idea in connexion with these institutions—with the Hindoo college at Calcutta, founded in 1816; colleges at Agra and Delhi, in 1827; and a few seminaries in various provincial towns—was the propagation of *Oriental* literature, and the inculcation of the Hindoo and the Mohammedan religion. The extension of the English language, and of the arts and sciences,

of which it might become the medium, was an innovation; and as such, dreaded by those whose opinions then ruled. A watchmaker at Calcutta, David Hare, about 1823-'4, established a British school there: he saw that the efficacy of Lord Wellesley's policy in founding the college at Fort William, as a means of incorporating the English on the Asiatic stock, was sound, and that no material improvement could take place in the mass of the people by endeavouring to communicate knowledge through twenty different tongues instead of by one, which would form a common medium of intercourse for all. The thought began to be "ventilated"—some advocating the English, some the vernacular, some both. The latter was partially adopted, as a compromise between the two former systems: but it ultimately gave way;* and now sound-thinking Indian statesmen are convinced that the foundation of education ought to be the English, whatever may be the vernacular; so that in due time it may become the ordinary dialect of about 200,000,000 in Hindoostan.

In 1813, attention was directed to the necessity of something being done towards the education of the people; and under the then charter act it was decreed that a lac of rupees (£10,000) should be annually appropriated out of the revenue of India for the "revival and improvement of literature."† It was a small sum for such an object: yet it remained unemployed for ten years; and then the accumulated funds were appropriated to the Hindoo college at Calcutta, which was placed under the superintendence of government, and to such other Oriental seminaries as a Committee of Public Instruction (appointed in 1823) might recommend.

The Court of Directors early foresaw the inefficiency of mere Oriental literature as a means of improving the people. In a despatch to India, written in 1821, the Court warned the local governments thus:—"In teaching mere Hindoo or Mohammedan learning, you bind yourselves to teach a great deal of what is frivolous, not a little of what is purely mischievous, and a small remainder indeed in which utility is in any way concerned." Bishop Heber also justly remarked—"The Mussulman literature very nearly resembles what the literature of Europe was before the time of Copernicus, Galileo, and Bacon. The Mussulmans take their logic from Aristotle, filtered through many successive translations and commentaries: and their metaphysical system is professedly derived from Plato. Both Mohammedans and Hindoos have the same natural philosophy, which is also that of Aristotle in zoology and botany, and Ptolemy in astronomy, for which the Hindoos have forsaken their more ancient notions of the seven seas and the six earths." The Court of Directors had to contend against the prejudices of distinguished Englishmen, who clung pertinaciously to the idea of educating the people in the Oriental tongues. Thus, in a despatch of September 29th, 1830, the Court says—"We think it highly advisable to enable and encourage a large number of natives to acquire a thorough knowledge of English, being convinced that the high tone and better spirit of European literature can produce their full effect only on those who become familiar with them in the original lan-

* The Right Honourable T. B. Macaulay deserves credit for the efforts he made in favour of the extension of the English language in India.

† Parl. Papers on India, submitted by E. I. Cy. in 1853.

‡ Of the course of education in this institution, that

accurate observer the late Rammohun Ray, said—"It can only load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of no practical use; the pupils will acquire what was known 2,000 years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties." In fact, its pupils became deists and atheists.

guage. While, too, we agree that the higher branches of science may be more advantageously studied in the languages of Europe, than in translations into the Oriental tongues, it is also to be considered, that the fittest persons for translating English scientific books, or for putting their substance into a shape adapted to Asiatic students, are natives who have studied profoundly in the original works."—(Despatch, September 29th, 1830.)

These sound views were not immediately adopted by the Indian government, who absurdly persevered for several years attempting to instruct the people who attended the public seminaries by translating English literature into Sanscrit and Arabic—the one not spoken, and the other a foreign language in India. Before a Hindoo could study the best masters in English, he must waste precious time in becoming an Oriental scholar: in effect, it would be paralleled if boys in the national schools of Britain were required to learn Latin and Greek, and then study English literature from translations into these

languages. The pedantry and inutility of such a system was at length exposed; and, with broader views of statesmanship, there came a recognition of the necessity of making English the classical and predominant language.

On the 7th of March, 1835, the government abandoned the Oriental scheme of education, and the comprehensive and adaptative tongue of the ruling power was gradually substituted by attaching English classes to the Hindoo and Mohammedan colleges which had been established in different cities; to these were added scholarships, with stipends attainable after a satisfactory examination, and terminable at a central college to which the school was subordinate. In October, 1844, government passed a resolution, promising preference of selection for public employment to students of distinguished ability. Model schools have been adopted in several districts; suitable books prepared; an organised system of inspection maintained;* and Christian instruction thus extended:—

Missionary Schools in Continental India.

Stations.	Male.						Female.			
	Vernacular Day-Schools.		Boarding-Schools.		English Schools.		Day-Schools.		Boarding-Schools.	
	Schools.	Boys.	Schools.	Boys.	Schools.	Boys.	Schools.	Girls.	Schools.	Girls.
Bengal, Orissa, and Assam	127	6,369	21	761	22	6,054	26	690	28	836
N. W. Provinces . . .	55	3,078	10	209	16	1,207	8	213	11	208
Madras Presidency . .	552	61,366	32	754	44	4,156	222	6,929	41	1,101
Bombay Presidency . .	65	3,848	4	64	9	984	28	1,087	6	129
Total	1,099	74,661	67	1,788	91	12,401	284	8,919	86	2,274

In the parliamentary discussions relative to India, in 1852-'3, the subject of educating the people by a general system, was fully recognised as one of the most important duties of government; and accordingly, in July, 1854, an admirable despatch was forwarded to Bengal by the home authorities.† In this document the Court of Directors declare that "no subject has a stronger claim to attention than education;" and that it is "one of our most sacred duties, to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connexion with England. For although British influence has already, in many remarkable instances, been applied with great energy and success to uproot demoralising practices, and even crimes of a deeper dye, which for ages had prevailed among the natives of India, the good results of those efforts must, in order to be permanent, possess the further sanction of a general sympathy in the native mind, which the advance of education alone can secure. We have, moreover, always looked upon the encouragement of education as peculiarly important, because calculated 'not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages, and so to supply you with servants to whose probity you may with increased confidence commit offices of trust' in India,

* In September, 1845, I attended an annual examination of the Poona schools, and was agreeably surprised by the intelligence and proficiency of the pupils.

where the well-being of the people is so intimately connected with the truthfulness and ability of officers of every grade in all departments of the state. Nor, while the character of England is deeply concerned in the success of our efforts for the promotion of education, are her material interests altogether unaffected by the advance of European knowledge in India: this knowledge will teach the natives of India the marvellous results of the employment of labour and capital, rouse them to emulate us in the development of the vast resources of their country, guide them in their efforts, and gradually, but certainly, confer upon them all the advantages which accompany the healthy increase of wealth and commerce; and, at the same time, secure to us a larger and more certain supply of many articles necessary for our manufactures and extensively consumed by all classes of our population, as well as an almost inexhaustible demand for the produce of British labour."

These are noble sentiments, worthy of England, and of incalculable benefit to India. With this preamble, the Court of Directors proceed to state the main object thus:—"We emphatically declare that the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe; in short, of European knowledge."

Pecuniary aid is to be given to vernacular and Anglo-vernacular schools. The study of law, medi-

† It is understood that the preliminary draft of this valuable State Paper was drawn up by Sir Charles Wood, then president of the India Board.

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cine,* and civil engineering to be encouraged; and all the higher branches of sound education. The expenditure for these great designs will be large, and can only gradually be employed: at present it amounts to about £150,000 a-year, which, it is to be hoped, will ere long be largely augmented.†

Number of Government Educational Institutions, of Teachers and of Pupils therein, with the total Expense thereof, and the Number and Value of Scholarships in each Presidency, in the Year 1852-'53.

Presidency.	Nature of Institution.	Institutions.	Teachers	Pupils.	Expense.	Scholarships.	
						Number.	Value.
Bengal	English and native tuition	109	336	9,116	£5,000	152	£3,137
	Vernacular tuition	36	36	1,904	1,192	—	—
	Grants in aid to charitable and other scholastic institutions	—	—	—	6,306	—	—
N. W. Provinces	English and native tuition	7	125	1,835	14,577	284	2,814
	Vernacular	8	—	—	5,437	—	—
Madras	English and native tuition	3	21	448	3,789	—	—
	Vernacular	—	—	—	766	—	—
Bombay	English and native tuition	15	64	2,492	17,143	84	5,880
	Vernacular	235	190	12,384			
Total	{ English and native tuition	131	546	13,891	—	520	11,831
	{ Vernacular	279	226	14,288	—	—	—
Grand Total		413	772	28,179	100,210	520	11,831

Note.—The above return is founded on the information received for the year 1852-'53; but as the state of education in India is at present one of transition, it is probable that considerable alteration has taken place. By the despatch to the government of India, dated the 19th July (No. 49 of 1854), a plan for the general extension of education was laid down, and when the instructions therein contained shall begin to be carried out, the changes made will be of a wide and sweeping character. For the reasons already assigned it is impossible to afford any precise information on the subject of Vernacular Schools. It is known, however, that these schools are increasing in number and improving in character. In October, 1849, sanction was given by the home authorities for the establishment of one government vernacular school in each of eight tehsildarries, or revenue divisions of the North-West Provinces, to afford a model to the native village schoolmasters. The experiment proved highly successful; the number of village indigenous schools, within the eight tehsildarries, having increased in three years, from 2,014 to 3,469; and that of the scholars therein, from 17,169 to 36,884. The plan has now been extended to the whole of the North-Western Provinces, and also to portions of Bengal and the Punjab. The expense of the measure is estimated at £60,000 per annum.

Under the present system there is an educational department at each presidency, with an official of talent, largely remunerated, at its head; qualified district inspectors report periodically on the colleges and schools supported and managed by government, and statistical returns are to be annually sent, with the reports, to England. Universities are to be established, under charter, in different parts of India, and to be managed by senates, consisting of

the chancellor, vice-chancellor, and fellows of each; periodical examinations to be held in the different branches of art and science, and degrees conferred, unconnected with religious belief, on qualified persons who may be educated at the university college, or at affiliated institutions conducted by all denominations, whether Christians, Hindoos, Mohammedans, Parsees, Seiks, Buddhists, Jains, or any other religious persuasion, if found to afford the requisite

* In 1829, I laid before Lord Wm. Bentinck, then governor-general, a plan for establishing a medical and surgical college at Calcutta, and pointed out the great benefits which would accrue from such an institution. I also offered to deliver gratuitously a course of lectures on anatomy, for which there was an abundance of "subjects," the Ganges being the place of sepulture for many million Hindoos whose bodies daily floated in thousands past Calcutta. Lord Wm. Bentinck warmly commended my proposition; but subsequently informed me that he found such a decided opposition to it in the council that it would be hopeless to get the sanction of those who feared every innovation, and deemed that the Hindoos would never attend a dissecting-room. In a few years after my plan was effectively carried out by others, and it has produced the most beneficial results. Hindoos even come to England to study and qualify themselves for the position of surgeon in the service of government. I know of no branch of science so urgently needed for the people of India as that of medicine and chirurgery; and it is to be hoped that public hospitals and lecturers will be established in the large cities for the benefit of the native population. The *Friend of India* thus alludes to the good done by the establishment of medical institutions in Malwa:—"In 1847, throughout the great provinces over which the authority of the resident at Indore extends, there was not, we believe, one single dispensary. There are now nine, all supported by funds derived from sources

independent of the British government, and all frequented by the people with an eagerness not always manifested in our older provinces. The nine are stationed at Indore, Oojein, Rutlan, Manpoor, Dhar, Dewas, Sillanah, and Bhopawur, the central station having two. From these establishments no less than 20,223 new patients have received medical relief, of whom about a third, or 6,465, were women and children. The number of females, in itself a sixth of the whole, deserves especial remark. No less than 2,468 surgical operations were performed; a number which appears enormous, unless very slight cases are included. When it is remembered that a few years since this vast amount of human suffering must have been unrelieved, or relieved only by the superstitious quackery of the Vedic doctors, the good which has been accomplished by Mr. Hamilton, and the energetic residency surgeon, will be readily appreciated. The whole expenses of these establishments amount to 16,032 rupees; and the receipts, chiefly from native chiefs and princes, have been a little above that sum. There appears to be no probability of any falling off; and in spite of their hereditary apathy, the neighbouring chiefs appear to be desirous of imitating a system which, under their own eyes, produces so excellent an effect."

† The reorganisation of village schools would bring instruction home to the mass of the people: they might be made industrial institutions, and combine agriculture with rustic mechanics.

course of study, and subject to the inspection, periodically, of government inspectors.

A people who have been subject, for several centuries, to a rigid political despotism, and sunk for ages in a gross system of idolatry, which, while it involved a slavish subjection to a dominant caste, encouraged the development and exercise of every sensual passion, must necessarily have both intellectual and moral faculties darkened to a degree almost surpassing belief. If it be a hopeless task to regenerate a human being, of whose originally small glimmering of soul scarcely a scintilla is left, and whose frame, diseased by debauchery, is returning to its original mire, how much more difficult must it be to raise a hundred million from the inert state in which the mass now vegetate through existence! Far easier is the task of elevating the New-Zealander or Kaffir; nay, the efforts making for the civilising of Bheels, Gonds, Mairs, Sonthals, and other aborigines in India, may be attended with earlier success than can be expected from the Hindoo, whose mind is still under the dominion of a Gooroo, or Brahmin. It is only, therefore, by great and long-sustained exertions on the part of government, aided by *all* its servants, that the literary, moral, and industrial education of the people of India can be accomplished.*

THE PRESS.—The rise and progress in India of this potent engine of civilisation requires to be briefly noted. During the administration of Warren Hastings, the first English newspaper was established at Calcutta: it was styled *Hickey's Gazette*, and is described as a low, scurrilous, immoral publication; it soon died a natural death. In 1814, the *Government Gazette* was the only publication extant. With the increase of Anglo-Indian residents the number of newspapers augmented, and their character improved. In 1820 there were three weekly journals and one monthly periodical in Calcutta. In 1830, the number of daily, weekly, monthly, and annual periodicals issuing from the Bengal press was thirty-three. In 1834 the numbers stood thus:—*Daily*, political newspapers, four; commercial advertisers, four. *Tri-weekly*, political, two; commercial, one. *Weekly*, political, four; commercial, four. *Monthly*,

* Government do not seem to have as yet given any attention to the highly important subject of female education. The character of the men of any country may be readily inferred by the intellectual progress and moral teaching of the women. The barbarous system of the Mohammedans is to keep the fair sex as mere sensual toys or household drudges: this cruel policy has, in some places, been adopted by the Hindoos from their Moslem conquerors; but it belongs not to their social ethics, as Menu enjoins reverence and respect; and there have been several distinguished female sovereigns and personages in Hindoostan. A London institution for promoting the education of the women of India is now in full operation, under the direction of a ladies' committee, who send out carefully-trained schoolmistresses, and superintend the working of the society at home and abroad. If the day have not arrived when girls' schools can be formed by government in India as well as in England, then to such a body as "the Society for promoting Female Education in the East," the work of educating the women of India might be temporarily entrusted by the state.

† There were *Ukhhars*, or Court Circulars, containing such scraps of official news, or *gup*, as the ruling power permitted to be made known.

‡ In 1829, in conjunction with Rammobun Roy, Dwarkanaut Tagore, Prus-una Comar Tagore, and other Hindoo gentlemen, I established in Calcutta a weekly journal, and printed it, under my own roof, in English, Bengallee, and

general, six. *Quarterly*, reviews and Army List, four. *Annals* and almanacs, five. In the N. W. Provinces, Agra, Delhi, Cawnpore, and Meerut, had each an English newspaper.

At Madras there were *nine*, and at Bombay *ten* English newspapers and other periodicals; there was no stamp or advertisement duty, but postage was levied on the transmission of journals through the post-office. A registration of the name and residence of proprietors, and a lodgment of a copy with government of each issue of a publication, were required. Until Sir Charles Metcalfe, when acting governor-general in August, 1835, declared the press of India free, and its conductors subject only to the civil law, and trial by jury for libel, the government exercised a vigilant censorship, and could at any moment destroy an obnoxious journal by the deportation of its conductors to Europe (as was done in the case of the late Mr. Silk Buckingham); but since 1835, the newspaper press of India has been as free as that of England.

The native periodical press is of recent formation. During Hindoo and Moslem sway, no such thing as a newspaper with freedom of discussion existed.† Even in 1820 there were no journals in the vernacular: a few subsequently arose.‡ In 1834 there were fifteen newspapers published weekly in Bengal, some in Bengallee, others in Persian, and some with translations into English. At the same period there was in Madras one native newspaper published in Hindoostanee and in English; and in Bombay, four—in the Guzerattee, Mahratta, and Persian languages.

With the establishment of these journals, English and native, there came into operation several printing-presses for the publication of books, pamphlets, &c., which were of essential service to the spread of education and literature.

The latest data before me (1853), of the newspapers and periodicals in the English language at each presidency, show:—*Calcutta*—Daily, seven; bi-weekly, three; weekly, eleven; bi-monthly, five; monthly, eight; quarterly, nine; yearly, eight. This is a larger issue of periodical literature than Edinburgh, Dublin, or any city in the United Kingdom

Hindoostanee (Persian) characters, in parallel columns, with a hope of improving the tone of the native mind, and preparing it for a temperate discussion of public affairs. This journal was acknowledged to have been eminently instrumental in aiding Lord Wm. Bentinck in the abolition of *suttee*, by appeals to the humane feelings of Hindoo husbands, fathers, and brothers. When widow-burning was suppressed, attention was directed to other prevailing pernicious practices, such as duelling among Europeans, and flagellation in the army. Some very mild comments on a court-martial sentence, dated 20th July, 1829, of "one thousand lashes on the bare back of gunner Wm. Comerford, of the 1st company 5th battalion of Bengal artillery" (whose wife had been seduced by the captain of his company, and the seducer's life threatened by the aggrieved husband), led to the condemnation by the government of India of the journal, and its ultimate destruction, with the large property embarked therein. It is now unnecessary to advert to the injury sustained; the circumstance is mentioned as a fragment of history. The sacrifice was made for great objects, and it is seldom one is privileged to witness the beneficial results by the attainment of the end in view.

§ *Englishman*, *Hurkarn* (Messenger), *Citizen*, *Morning Chronicle*, *Evening Mail*, *Commercial and Shipping Gazette*, *Exchange Gazette*. The *Englishman* and *Hurkarn*, for instance, are of the size of the London *Times* without its supplement.

but London can exhibit. *Bombay*—Daily, three; * bi-weekly, two; weekly, five; bi-monthly, four; monthly, three; quarterly, one; half-yearly, one; annually, two; and occasionally (transactions of scientific societies), four. *Madras*—Daily and weekly, nine; bi-monthly, two; monthly, eight; quarterly, three; annual, six. Throughout different parts of India there are also English newspapers, journals, &c., viz., at Agra, four; Delhi, four; Simla, one; Lahore, one; Serampoor (*Friend of India*), one; Rangoon, one; Bangalore (bi-weekly *Herald*), one; Poona, one; Kurachee (Sinde), two. Of the native press I can find no complete returns: in Bengal it has largely increased;† as also at Bom-

* *Times*, *Gazette*, and *Courier*, each nearly equal in size to the Calcutta newspapers.

† The *Baptist Mission Press* is distinguished in Bengal above all others for the accuracy and excellency of its work; it does a large amount of business, the profits of which are all devoted to the mission. By the aid of this active society, the Scriptures have in whole or in part been translated into, and printed in, forty-four Asiatic languages, which may be thus enumerated:—

Statistics of Translations (in the Languages of India) of the Holy Scriptures.

Languages or Dialects.	No. of Copies.	
	Wholly.	In Part.
Afghan	—	3,000
Armenian	—	2,790
Assamese	—	6,509
Battak (number not known.)	—	—
Beloochee ditto.	—	—
Bengallee	3,500	{ 341,655† 67,060‡
Bhogulcundi	—	1,000
Bhikaneera	—	1,000
Bhutneera	—	1,000
Brui	—	6,000
Burmese	—	16,500
Cashmere	—	3,000
Chinese	6,400	9,100
Cingalese (about)	5,000	5,000
Guzerattee	—	1,000
Gurwhali or Shreenagur	—	1,000
Haroti	—	1,000
Hindi	—	76,000
Hindoostanee or Urdu	—	132,033
Javanese (about)	—	3,000
Jumbu	—	1,000
Juyapura (number not known.)	—	—
Kanoj	—	1,000
Khasi	—	500
Kumaon	—	1,000
Kunkunu	—	2,000
Kusoli (number not known.)	—	—
Kurnata	—	1,000
Mahratta	—	11,465
Malay	—	1,500
Marwari	—	1,000
Mugudh	—	1,000
Multani	—	1,000
Munipura	—	1,000
Nepanlese	—	1,000
Oodeypoor (number not known.)	—	—
Oojin	—	1,000
Oriya	—	14,000
Palpa	—	1,000
Persian	—	37,500
Sanscrit	—	71,580
Sikhi	—	5,000
Sindhi (number not known.)	—	—
Telinga or Telooogo	—	1,000
Total number of Vols.	14,900	833,180

† New Testament.

‡ Old Testament.

(Parl. Papers—Commons; 6th August, 1853; p. 165.)
The *London Missionary Society* have translated the whole

bay, where there are two daily newspapers in Guzerattee; five bi-weekly, four weekly (Marathi, Guzerattee and Persian), one bi-monthly (Marathi and English), one monthly (in Portuguese.)

The activity of printing may be judged by the number of establishments in full operation at Bombay, viz., English, seven; Guzerattee, eleven; Marathi, four; Persian, four; lithographic presses, five. In the N. W. Provinces, the number of native presses in operation during the year 1853, was forty; and the number of native newspapers issued therefrom, thirty-seven: some of these, though containing current news, supply information useful for schools, on subjects connected with geography, zoology, history (chiefly modern), education, popular errors, translations from Shakspeare, influence of the moon on animal and vegetable creation, and various scientific matters. The official report to government (19th No. of Selections) on the subject of these native presses, states—"Of the forty presses at work, five were established within the year, and four discontinued during the same period; in the same manner, five new newspapers were issued, and five old ones discontinued. The books published at the presses were 195, and the approximate number of copies of the same struck off for general use, 103,615. Two of the principal presses, viz., Gobind Pughonath's at Benares, and the Moostufae press at Delhi, have not furnished us with the number of copies they have published of each work issued by them: for these, therefore, the lowest average, viz., 200 to each work, has been taken; but it may confidently be assumed that a far greater number of copies were struck off, more especially as the last-named press is noted for its success in the publication and sale of books." The report adverts commendingly to several of the newspapers, viz., the *Koh-i-Noor*, at Lahore; the *Noor-ool-Absar*, at Agra; the *Quiran-oos-Sadyn*, at Delhi; the *Soodhakeer*, at Benares, "which ranks very high among the native journals of these provinces." One newspaper deserves special note, owing to its patronage and source:—"Another well-conducted periodical is the *Mahva Ukhbar*, under the patronage of the Maharajah Holkar and Sir R. N. C. Hamilton, and published at Indore. The paper is edited by one of the teachers of the Indore school, and contains intelligence relative to the native neighbouring states, which have been personally visited by the editor, and with the condition and general affairs of which he would appear to be thoroughly conversant." It is to be regretted that there are no government reports on the state of the native press in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. Very little foresight is needed to perceive the vast importance, political, social, and moral, which this rapid extension of printing is calculated to produce on the native mind throughout the length and breadth of Hindoostan: for weal or for woe our government is now committed to the principle of free discussion on every topic which the discursive faculties of the Asiatic may choose to examine. Some publications of a decidedly deistical and even atheistical character

Bible into two languages—the Canarese and Telooogo; aided that of the Oordoo, Guzerattee, Bengallee, Tamul, and Malialim. Of £63,963 annual income, £26,136 is expended in India. The *Church Missionary Society* spends in India £45,000 per annum, and has eighty-eight ordained clergymen engaged in its glorious work. The excellent Moravians are "breaking ground" in the Himalaya, and the Scotch church are effectively occupying Western India.

have already appeared.* Paine's *Age of Reason* and Volney's *Ruins of Empires*, not long since found a more ready sale than any other imported books; for, in the transition state from Paganism to Christianity, the gulf of infidelity must, it is to be feared, be passed with ruin to many souls.†

The pure Hindoo mind, generally speaking, resembles very much that of the ancient Greek: it is logical, yet fond of romance—acute in perception, but wanting in profundity; delighting in subtleties, and eager for disputation; more vain than proud,—prone to exaggeration,—given to fine sentiments rather than to noble actions,‡—with a keener relish for the beautiful than the true,—physically brave, but morally pusillanimous,—superstitious, impulsive, ardent in love, bitter in hatred,—of vivid thoughts, bright imaginings, and lofty aspirations. With such a people, whose natural character has been subdued by centuries of despotism, great results may be produced by example and precept. If left unguided, the bias of fallen man must lead to evil; but with the powerful engine of the printing-press, government may exercise a permanent influence for good. There is no time to be lost: the school inspectors, European and native, now being appointed over every district, may become efficient instruments for the guidance of the native press in the inculcation of truth, the discussion of political economy, and the diffusion of virtuous principles.

CRIME.—For want of regular returns and a uniform system, it is not possible at present to show the extent of crime among the population generally; the nature of offences peculiar to the Hindoos or to the Mohammedans; the increase or decrease for several years; or the ratio that it bears to the number of inhabitants: such statistics would be very valuable, and might be obtained. Some returns prepared for

* I obtained in 1845, at Bombay, one atheistical book, written by a Parsee, in reply to the Scotch missionaries, which was of such a blasphemous character that I burnt the work to prevent its falling into the hands of any young person in England.

† One of the ablest newspapers published in India, termed the *Calcutta Inquirer*, was edited by a Hindoo named Khishna Mohun Bannajee, a man of brilliant abilities, perfectly well acquainted with the English language, which he wielded with great power against the government as a thorough "radical;" his infidelity was for a time complete. About the year 1834 he became acquainted with the missionaries; his scepticism was shaken, and he soon embraced Christianity—ceased to oppose government, "sounded the alarm to his countrymen and the authorities on the danger of imparting a merely intellectual education, as inevitably leading a large mass of the population into hostility to the British rule; and declared his entire conviction, both politically and morally, that the government would do well not to exclude Christianity from their schools."—(See valuable evidence of Colonel Jacob, of the artillery, before parliament, 4th August, 1853.) While in India, I invited the presence of many young Hindoo gentlemen to my chambers in the evening, and usually had large *soirees*: they quoted Shakspeare, Byron, and other popular works with remarkable memory, but almost invariably scoffed at the Bible and all religion; they had kicked away the crutches of Hindooism, and received no substitute; hence they stumbled through dark and fearful regions of atheism.

‡ There are many exceptions to this, especially in Rajpoot annals; and the devotion of the Hindoo sepoy to his European officer, has often been exhibited by the sacrifice of life to save that of his commander; but heroism is not, in the present age, the characteristic of the mass of the people.

§ Of this number but 46,381 were punished. The

the judicial department of the Madras government, furnishes useful details for the year 1850. It appears, that among a population of 22,281,527, there were in one year 167,063 alleged cases of assault, § 2,308 of cattle-stealing, 9,135 of theft, and 5,424 of various other offences: total, 183,930 cases of crime, for which summonses were granted by the district magistrates. The *village* police cases included 11,087 charged with petty assault, and 1,585 of petty theft.

The offences against the person in the Madras Presidency, show that the Hindoo is not the peaceable person that he is generally represented. || The murders in 1850 were 275; homicide, 87; wounding with intent to kill, 25; assault with wounding, 412; rape, 75: total, 864. The offences against property in the same year, were:—Robbery, with aggravating circumstances, 486; robbery, without ditto, 828; housebreaking, 5,959; theft, 2,350; cattle-stealing, killing, or wounding, 922; arson, 377; embezzlement and fraud, 205: total, 11,127. Forgery, 86; ¶ perjury or subornation, 11; various, 1,742: total, 1,839. This is a heavy catalogue of *known* crime, which, it is to be feared, forms but a small proportion of the amount actually perpetrated.

The crime of murder varies in different districts:—Malabar, 32 cases; Canara, 30; Cuddapah, 24; Salem, 23; Bellary, 20; in Gangam, Rajahmundry, N. Arcot, Coimbatore, Madura, and Tinnevely, the number of cases ranged from 12 to 16. The number of persons charged, in 1850, with abuse of authority as police-officers (principally peons, or constables and village police servants), was 1,410, which indicates grievous maladministration among the lowest officials.** In proportion to the population of the whole presidency, the number of persons summoned for petty offences was one in eighty-three inhabitants, and the crimes and misdemeanours one in 1,000.

disproportion of persons punished to those summoned is a great evil. In Rajahmundry, for instance, 1,422 out of 14,571, or nine per cent. Thus ninety-one out of every hundred persons brought before the magistrates are acknowledged to be innocent: this indicates a very bad state of society.

|| Murder and attempts to kill are awfully prevalent in every part of India: the nature of the assault varies with the character of the people, and is more manifest among the hot-blooded Mussulmen than the cooler Hindoos; the former slaying, the latter poisoning. Disputes regarding women are often the cause, and a blood feud is transmitted from father to son. Abstinence from animal food does not seem to induce the vegetarian from taking the life of his fellow-man.

¶ Forgery, perjury, and coining, were deemed trivial offences under Pagan and Moslem rule. Coining base money was turned to advantage by local functionaries, who levied a tax from the coiners.

** The native police throughout India (excepting the Punjab) is notoriously inefficient and corrupt. There can now be no doubt that tortures of the most atrocious and indecent character have been, and are still inflicted, for the purpose of extorting confession from alleged criminals, and still more with a view to obtain money from the suspected or the accused. This, in a great degree, accounts for the large number of persons summoned or apprehended. In Bengal, *dacoity*, or gang-robbery, is nearly as bad as in the days of Warren Hastings. No branch of our Indian administration demands reform more than the police; and perhaps in no department is it more difficult, owing to the unprincipled and profligate class of the community from whom the police are selected. The remedy elsewhere suggested—of erecting municipalities, and leaving the matter in the hands of corporations dependent on the ratepayers, appears to afford the best means of obtaining an honest and vigilant police.

The number of suicides and accidental deaths reported to the magistracy in 1850, within the limits of the Madras Presidency, is very remarkable:—

Cause of Death.	Men.	Women.	Children	Total.
Suicides:—				
Drowning	195*	536	13	744
Hanging	171	72	—	243
Poison	4	25	1	30
Various	28	10	—	38
Total	398	643	14	1,055
Accidental deaths:—				
Drowning in wells .	573†	913	662	2,148
Do. in tanks or rivers	468†	270	521	1,259
By burning	48	29	47	124
" lightning	99	27	16	142
" sunstroke	15	9	1	25
" wild beasts . . .	85	21	13	119
" landslips, &c. . .	67	26	35	128
Various	497	87	64	648
Total	1,852	1,382	1,359	4,593
General Total . . .	2,250	2,025	1,373	5,648

The recklessness of life which this table exhibits is awful; upwards of a thousand suicides† and 4,500 alleged accidental deaths, constitute only those known to or reported by the police; and probably many of those are murders.

BOMBAY, 1850.—The returns of crime for this presidency vary in form, and are not so full as those of Madras, neither do they appear to be so accurately prepared. Number of persons apprehended for crime by the *district* police, 60,673; by the *village* ditto, 2,398 = 63,071. But here, as at Madras, and owing most probably to the same cause—a corrupt police—the number apprehended or summoned is no actual test of crime. For instance, of 60,673 persons apprehended, 17,765 were discharged without trial, and 16,564 acquitted after investigation.§ The following official specification of crime for two years, throughout the Bombay Pre-

* In the year 1849—men, 328; women, 527.

† In 1849.

‡ In India, as in China, suicide very frequently results from the use of opium and other intoxicating drugs, the constant use of which (as an aphrodisiac in the first instance) tends to the prostration of all vigour of mind or body, and ultimately to self-murder, as a relief from the torment experienced. Unhappily, our Indian government, for the sake of obtaining a revenue, have encouraged not only the growth of opium for exportation, but also for private use. The late Henry St. George Tucker, a respected and able chairman of the E. I. Cy., recorded in 1829 his sentiments on this point. "The supreme government of India have condescended to supply the retail shops with opium for domestic consumption. I believe that no one act of our government has appeared in the eyes of respectable natives, both Mohammedan and Hindoo, more questionable; nothing, I suspect, has tended so much to lower us in their regard. Was it becoming in a great government to establish shops for the retail sale of the drug? Is it desirable that we should bring it to the very door of the lower orders, who might never otherwise have found the article within their reach, and who are now tempted to adopt a habit alike injurious to health and to good morals."—(*Memorials of Indian Government: Selections from the Papers of Henry St. George Tucker*, p. 154. Edited by J. W. Kaye: London, 1853.)

§ In Madras, out of 183,930 persons summoned or apprehended for alleged criminal offences, only 54,067 were punished.

sidency, will confirm the remark made under Madras, as to the immoral state of the population:—

Crime throughout the Bombay Presidency in 1850, contrasted with 1849.

Offences.	1849.	1850.
Adultery 	213	201
Assault with homicide	15	26
Ditto, with wounding or other violence	503	499
Ditto, simple	13,564	14,022
Arson	677	570
Child-stealing¶	20	27
Forgery, or counterfeiting the coin	95	103
Homicide	33	39
Murder	165	146
Perjury	155	167
Rape	69	84
Receiving stolen goods	374	421
Gang-robbery, with murder	18	13
Ditto with violence	221	204
Ditto unaggravated	56	81
Robbery, including burglary and cattle-stealing, with murder	13	9
Robbery, including burglary and cattle-stealing, with violence	2,087	2,211
Robbery, including burglary and cattle-stealing, unaggravated	3,667	4,334
Theft, with murder, including that of children for the sake of ornaments	11	14
Theft, simple	7,276	8,406
Treason, rebellion, and riot	5	12
Thuggee	—	1
Miscellaneous Offences, viz.:—		
Abuse of authority	25	69
Abusive language	9,342	9,481
Abortion, procuring and attempting, or assistant at ditto	70	76
Attempt at theft or robbery	639	783
Breach of contract	67	84
Breach of religious law	153	124
Breaking or destroying boundaries	30	60
Bribery, and attempt at ditto	120	192
Conspiracy	130	112
Concealment of robbery or theft	17	19
Concealment of murder	7	3
Dhurna	5	8
Embezzlement	53	83
Escape from custody, and attempts and connivance at ditto	49	71
Fraud	312	277
Failure to furnish security	32	30
Infraction of police rules	999	729
Jhansa	431	509
Neglect of duty and disobedience of orders	916	950
Return from banishment or transportation	30	36
Suicide, attempts at	27	22
Traga, and attempts at	73	103
Uttering base coin and using false weights	159	263
Not included in the above	2,408	2,301
Total	45,351	47,982

|| This is a prevalent crime in India. The Punjab commissioners report that "the men of the Punjab regard adultery with a vindictiveness only to be appeased by the death or mutilation of the parties; yet in no country are instances of female depravity and conjugal infidelity more frequent." The natives hate any system of law which will not give such redress as their vengeance may demand, and murder the aggressor when in their power to do so.

¶ Child-stealing was extensively practised under the native rule; and, despite our vigilance, is still practised in every part of India. While slavery existed and was encouraged, there was of course a premium offered for the abduction of infants from their parents. In the Punjab, for instance, "children of both sexes, especially females, were openly bought and sold."—(Report, p. 44.) There the crime is now punished with ten or fifteen years' imprisonment.

The supposed number of offenders for the year is 96,591, of whom 78,366 only were apprehended. Of the prisoners tried, no more than 8,123 could read and write; the number tried for second offences was 2,503. The punishments are thus shown of 4,222 prisoners who were in the gaols on 31st December, 1850:—Imprisonment for life, with labour in irons, 131; ditto, without irons, 65; imprisonment, ten to fourteen years, 270; ditto, seven to ten years, 495; ditto, less than seven years, 2,762; ditto, without labour, 499. The number of deaths in prison throughout the year was 318: the average mortality being about six per cent. The sentences of death by the Sudder Foudjaree Adawlut, or highest criminal court, was only 13, which marks a very limited extent of capital punishment. Fines seem to be the most usual mode of dealing with offenders: of 26,352 sentenced by district police, 22,679 were mulct in money, or imprisoned in default of payment, 2,482 confined without labour, and 1,191 placed in the stocks; of 4,792 sentenced by magistrates, 2,535 were fined, 46 flogged and discharged, and the remainder imprisoned for various terms under a year. The session judges' sentences on 1,258 tried before them, comprised 151 fined, and the others imprisoned for various terms of one to five years.

The returns for Bombay,* as well as Madras, note that petty crime prevails most in those districts where there is heavy taxation, failure of crops, general distress, and want of remunerative employment; also assaults with wounding† where the men still go abroad on all occasions armed. Where the inhabitants are employed in constructing tanks, wells, and other public works, crime has diminished. The

sums reported lost by robbery throughout the presidency, in 1850, is not large, viz., rupees, 558,345 = £55,854; and recovered by the police—rupees, 150,560; lost by arson—rupees, 24,034.

NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.—The details of crime for 1849,‡ in this large section of India, are very meagre. The number of persons apprehended during the year was 82,957; and, with the addition of 1,435 prisoners under examination 1st January, 1849, and 1,071 received by transfer, total disposed of, 85,463: of these only 45,863 (barely more than one-half) were convicted, and 32,842 were acquitted; the remainder died (51), escaped (65), were transferred, &c. No statement of crimes or of suicides, and no trustworthy returns from Bengal appear among the papers laid before parliament; but the following significant expression by the governor-general (Dalhousie), when examining the "Report of the Punjab," will, to some extent, show the state of the country. His lordship says—"I will boldly affirm, that life and property are now, and have for some time been, more secure within the bounds of the Punjab, which we have only held for four years, than they are in the province of Bengal, which has been ours for very nearly a century."§ According to a police report, it is stated that in 1854, out of a population estimated at 35,000,000, spread over 31 districts, 84,536 persons were arrested for 82,925 separate charges: one person accused in every 414 inhabitants—less than a fourth per cent. The convictions are quoted at 48,127, or one-seventh per cent. on the population. Value of property stolen during the year—rupees, 600,000; amount recovered—rupees, 74,111, or nine per cent. A military police, like that of Ireland, would be useful.

Persons apprehended, convicted, acquitted, and committed for Trial, in each Presidency, from 1850—'52.

Classification of Criminal Cases.	Bengal.			N. W. Provinces.			Madras.			Bombay.		
	1850.	1851.	1852.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1850.	1851.	1852.	1850.	1851	1852
Pending on 1st of Jan.	2,634	2,496	2,865	1,356	1,527	1,505	1,984	3,624	3,298	1,068	—	—
Received by transfer	440	529	441	758	947	1,010	—	—	—	—	—	—
Apprehended during the year	107,967	107,718	104,474	83,059	82,112	94,747	202,506	192,609	194,514	73,588	—	—
Total	111,041	110,743	107,780	85,173	84,586	97,262	204,490	196,233	197,812	79,656	—	—
Convicted	63,407	61,583	63,316	46,170	46,012	55,904	57,684	51,463	52,300	33,865	—	—
Acquitted	40,092	40,799	35,864	32,580	32,283	34,677	78,929	78,255	78,018	20,882	—	—
Discharged without trial	—	—	—	—	—	—	64,107	63,144	63,544	22,864	—	—
Committed	3,962	4,080	4,417	4,300	4,079	4,369	—	—	—	—	—	—
Died	93	134	184	59	67	764	146	73	86	960	—	—
Escaped	503	540	614	32	45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Transferred	490	734	632	505	597	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pending, in gaol	765	994	913	707	749	1,548	3,624	3,298	3,864	1,085	—	—
" on bail	1,729	1,879	1,840	820	754	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	111,041	110,743	107,780	85,173	84,586	97,262	204,490	196,233	197,812	79,656	—	—

|| Returns not yet received.

PUNJAB.—It is refreshing to turn from the crime and inefficient police of Southern India to the condition of the Punjab Proper, where, previous to the assumption of British sovereignty (29th March, 1849), crime and deeds of violence were rife. Under the sway of Runjeet Sing, the penal code was unwritten. There were but two penalties—mutilation and fine:

* Within the last two years, military officers have been made assistant magistrates, and placed in charge of the police. The result has been satisfactory: the policemen have been brought under discipline, and rendered effective.

† In the Punjab Proper, a complete disarming of the

capital punishment was rare; imprisonment almost unknown; mutilation reserved for seduction and adultery—sometimes inflicted for violent theft and robbery; but for every offence from petty larceny to murder, impunity was purchased by money. From one to ten thousand rupees was the price of human life; occasionally a noted murderer or population recently took place with the happiest results; 119,796 weapons of various kinds were seized or surrendered to the police.

‡ Dated Agra, 13th September, 1850.

§ Minute by Governor-general, 9th May, 1853.

robber was enlisted, on high pay, as a cavalier or a foot soldier; if he were a notorious villain, he was made an officer. When a district became disturbed, Runjeet Sing left the matter to his lieutenants, and did not object to the Draconian code of General Avitabile,* in which hanging was the penalty for every crime, small or great.

Considering that 60,000 men were let loose over the Punjab after the surrender of the Seik power, and that the neighbourhood contained hosts of lawless mountaineers, on a frontier line of 500 miles, apt at all times to make forays, and prey on the more civilised and wealthy communities of the plains, the organisation of an efficient police became a matter of the first consideration. A territory extending over an area of 10,000 miles, between the Beas and Indus, peopled by several million warlike Seiks and fanatic Mussulmen,—by Rajpoots, Patans, Jats, and Goojurs,—by devotees and renegades of every faith in India,—required a preventive police with military organisation, and a detective force under civil control: the former consists of six regiments of foot (5,400 men), and twenty-seven troops of horse (2,700), regularly armed and equipped, and commanded by four British officers as police captains. The infantry guard the gaols, treasuries, frontier posts, and city gates, furnish escorts for the transit of treasure, and other civil duties; the cavalry are posted in small or larger numbers as a mounted patrol along the grand lines of road. Both horse and foot are ready at a moment's notice to aid the civil police, the infantry to crush resistance, the cavalry to expedite pursuit.

The civil police supported by the state (and independent of the city watchmen and rural constabulary paid by the people), consists of 6,900 men of all grades, divided over 228 jurisdictions, in each of which a police-officer is stationed, with one or two deputies and policemen. Each *tehsildar* (native collector of land revenue) is invested with defined police powers within his circle, with authority to overawe the police when corrupt, to animate them when negligent, and to aid the police-officers by infusing honour and vigour into the men. Unknown and suspicious characters are prevented prowling about; curfew penalties are imposed on those found wandering outside the villages between sunset and sunrise; parties not registered as public workmen or camp followers, and found within cantonments, are punished; armed travellers must deposit their arms at the police-station nearest to the pass, and receive them back on their return; all large bodies of men are watched; wayfaring men who put up at the village inns, must report themselves to the village chief; and any inn or hotel proved to have sheltered enemies to the public peace, is destroyed. The city watch and village police form an important link between the executive and the people.

The rural detectives here, as in other parts of India, form admirable trackers; among the middle and lower parts of the Doab, amid the wild tract of forest and brushwood, there is a scattered population, who

hitherto subsisted chiefly by stealing thousands of cattle, which once carried thither, never emerged thence with life. Roads have been cut through these haunts, and the professional trackers will follow a thief with stolen cattle for fifty to one hundred miles, although the ground may be overgrown with grass, or too hard to be susceptible of footmarks. *Dacoity*, during the first year of our administration, attained an alarming height; gangs of armed and mounted robbers scoured the roads at night, and attacked the houses of native grandees by day, after the fashion of the bush-rangers, as described in my volume on Van Diemen's Land. These gangs have been dispersed, hunted down by men braver than themselves, and the leaders have suffered death or been outlawed: those who escaped have been chased into perpetual exile among the fastnesses of Bikaner and Raj-hasthan, or the wilds of the Great Desert. Now the Punjab is as free from *dacoity* as any part of Upper India. *Thuggee*, which was practised by a low class of Seiks, who, however, had not "the supple sagacity, insidious perseverance, religious faith, dark superstition, sacred ceremonies, peculiar dialect, and mysterious bond of union which distinguished their Hindoo brethren," has been suppressed, and an organised body of ferocious and desperate murderers destroyed. Finally, in no part of India is there more perfect peace than in the Punjab.† The returns show a moderate amount of crime,‡ especially when the recent habits of the population be considered. The ratio, in proportion to the population of the Lahore district, as compared with other parts of Western India, is thus stated:—

Districts.		Persons apprehended.	Persons convicted.	Detected criminals, one to	Convicted criminals, one to
Lahore division	1849-'50	9,009	5,144	274-41	480-32
Do. do	1850-'51	9,998	5,423	247-13	455-61
Delhi district	1849	2,179	1,653	140-68	186-66
Agra do.	"	4,070	2,313	203-3	358-6
Aliahabad district	"	3,476	1,424	204-33	498-78
Benares do.	"	3,620	1,776	204-81	423-10

Under the native laws, punishments for crime were exceedingly cruel; but except in extraordinary cases of treason or sacrilege, the poor were alone the sufferers, as the administration of justice was corrupt to the core. Torture was applied to both principals and witnesses, and by the gaolers also, to extort money from the prisoners. Flogging, mutilation, decapitation, drowning, burying alive, casting to wild beasts, and disembowelling, constituted the successive grades of sentences for those who were unable to buy off the infliction.

Under our rule capital punishments are restricted to murder; all other heinous offences are visited with transportation to Sineapoor or other places across the sea, with imprisonment and hard labour, on the roads or at public works, either for life or for a term of years.

who consider their order sacred, and that if their daughters lived and married, the fathers would be degraded: the children are consequently doomed to an early death. Other tribes also commit this unnatural and foul crime, viz., "some of the Mussulmen sects, and some subdivisions of the Khastree caste." The British officials, at the suggestion of some excellent missionaries, have had a public meeting of the chiefs, who have agreed to co-operate in the abolition of this unnatural crime. The purchase of slave girls is also decreasing.

* At Peshawur, where Avitabile (a Neapolitan) was supreme, the code was blood for blood, especially if the murdered man was a Seik; but "his object was the sacrifice of a victim rather than the punishment of guilt."—(Report of Commission, 1851; p. 11.)

† General Report on Administration of Punjab, p. 39.

‡ Infanticide unhappily prevails extensively in the Punjab. In Rajpootana it has existed for years; but here the Rajpoots are free from that crime which is committed chiefly by the Bedees or priestly class among the Seiks,

CHAPTER V.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT—JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION—MILITARY POWER—AND PROTECTED STATES AND PENSIONARIES.

THE earliest knowledge we possess of India, inclines me to think that the country was divided into several forms of government, some as military monarchies, others as aristocratic oligarchies,* and many with republican† or democratic institutions; but all, more or less, combined the hereditary element in their constitutions, and were required, on great occasions, to unite for mutual defence against a foreign foe. Individual freedom was prized by the people; and when overcome by an enemy, many fled into the deserts and jungles, preferring solitude to subjugation.

The village or municipal system of India, which has outlived all dynasties and changes, combines the hereditary with the democratic: the potail or mayor, in virtue of his birth, would succeed his father; but if unfit for his position, the commonalty might elect their chief. Among the Hindoos there is a strong tendency to office-succession in the same family—not so much in reference to feudality or clan-ship, as to the transmission of property from one generation to another, in an unbroken line, for a long series of years; a feeling tenaciously held by some races of mankind, and especially by several of Asiatic origin. This idea would doubtless tend to mould the form of government.‡

As a general rule, it may be stated that the *Hindoo* polity was monarchical, with some republican principles, a territorial feudal aristocracy, and hereditary rights and privileges; the Mohammedan rule (acquired by the sword) was styled imperial, and upheld

by despotic sway; no aristocracy but that of office or service was tolerated; no local institutions were encouraged; everything became, as far as possible, centralised; and all persons and property were at the mercy of the emperor, whose position, though to some extent hereditary, was only so after the manner of the Cæsars; for the large standing army at Delhi (as at Rome) could make or unmake the chief ruler.§ After the marauding Moslem hordes from Tartary and Afghanistan had consolidated their conquests, the empire was divided into soubahs|| or provinces, such as Bengal, Bahar, Oude, Malwa, Labore, &c., over each of which there was a creature of the court, with the style and position of viceroy; most of whom, on the break-up of the Mogul dynasty, declared themselves sovereigns in their respective localities, although they preserved the formality of obtaining the investiture of office from the nominal emperor at Delhi.

When the English appeared in India, they followed the example set by the Arabs and Portuguese, —erected factories at places convenient for trade, and gradually turned them into forts for the protection of their goods and the security of their lives, during the lawless state which ensued consequent on the breaking up of the imperial government at Delhi.

Until 1707, the affairs of the factory of Calcutta were under the superintendence of Fort St. George or Madras: in that year a presidency was formed for Bengal, consisting of a president or governor, aided by a council of varying number—of

* At the city of Nysa, during the Alexandrine period, the chief authority resided in a senate of 300 members. When the Portuguese first saw the Rajpoots, they described them as living under aristocratic republics.—(Barros—*Asia*, iv., p. 545.) The reader desirous of investigating the fragmentary information and legendary lore derived from the Puranas, Mahabarat, Cashmerian annals, and other documents relative to the Hindoos, up to the period of the marauding invasions of the Mohammedans in the 11th century of the Christian era, will find abundant scope for inquiry in the works of Sir W. Jones, Colebrook, Wilkins, Wilson, Deguignes, Tod, Bentley, Heeren, Bird, Wilford, Moore, Elphinstone, Dow, Stewart, Masson, and other writers, who have praiseworthy devoted themselves to antiquarian researches connected with the history of the East. A summary of the scanty facts thus obtained would lead to no useful result, as scarcely two authors agree in their general conclusions, excepting in so far that about the period above-named India was divided into many separate states, with numerous tributary or independent rajabs or feudal chiefs.

† This word is used in reference to the prevailing idea of its signification. I do not myself think that any form of republic, whether carried on by an oligarchy or by a democracy, can long exist except under *Christian* polity, when each member of the commonwealth not only governs himself, but subjugates or directs his passions and desires for the promotion of the public weal. In proportion to the fulfilment of this duty, and so far as it accords with the Divine law, in such proportion will be the duration, prosperity, and happiness of a state, whatever may be the designation given to its form of government.

‡ Mr. George Campbell, B.C.S., in the first chapter of his useful work (*Modern India*, 1852), shows the difficulty of arriving at any definite conclusion as to the early form

of government among the Hindoos. He thinks the Rajpoots conquered the greater part of India, and although democratic or feudal at home, they were absolute sovereigns abroad, and that under their sway, previous to the arrival of the Mohammedans, India “enjoyed prosperity and wealth.”—(p. 12.)

§ At the beginning of the 18th century, the emperor had 30,000 cavalry and 400,000 infantry in constant pay. Merit, not birth, gave precedence, and largesses were frequently distributed.—(*Gemelli*.)

|| See p. 117 for the soubahs of the empire, and their administration at the period of Akber's death in 1605. Peter Heylin, in his *Cosmographie*, 2nd edition, London, 1657, p. 883, says that India was then, according to the latest observations, divided into forty-seven kingdoms, “whereof some few have still their own national kings, the rest all subject to the power of the Great Mogul.” By joining many lesser territories, he arranged the whole of India within the Ganges into twelve divisions, viz.—1. *Dulsinda* (W. of the Indus); 2. *Peugob* (E. of the Indus, more inclining towards the S.); 3. *Mondao*, lying between the Peugob on the N., Agra on the S., Delhi on the E., and the Indus on the W.; chief city, Mandao; well fortified, and said to be 30 m. in circumference; also Mooltan and other cities; 4. *Delhi* or *Delin*; 5. *Agra*, including Gwalior; 6. *Sanya*, on the E. of Agra, and S.W. of Cambaia; 7. *Cambaia*, S. of Dulsinda and part of Mandao, lying on both sides of the Indus, and containing Guzerat, &c.; 8. *Deccan*; 9. *Canara*; 10. *Malabar*; 11. *Narsinga* (N. of Travancore and S. of Oriza); 9. *Oriza* or *Oristan*; 10. *Botanler*, the petty kingdoms N.E. of the Ganges river; 11. *Patanaw* (Patna); 12. *Bengala*. The extra Gangetic territories were divided into Brama or Barma (Burmah), Chav-Chün China, Cambaia, Jangoma or Laos, Siam, and Pegu.

nine to twelve members of the civil class,—chosen according to seniority, and generally head factors, who held their lucrative situations at the will of the governor. In 1758 the government was remodelled by order of the directors of the E. I. Cy.: instead of one governor, *four* were nominated, each to hold office three months, and follow in rotation; these quarterly governors to be aided by a council of ten members. This extraordinary scheme was set aside by the four newly-appointed governors themselves: they saw it was not possible to work out such an absurdity, and they invited Clive to accept the undivided office of president; which was done.

In 1765, another form was devised by the home authorities, to remove existing disturbances in the executive, viz., a governor and four councillors, called a select committee. Before this body arrived, the disturbances had ceased to exist; but the governor and committee assumed the whole civil and military authority. In 1769, a new plan was devised, with a view to check the corruption, and procure the funds which the E. I. Cy. expected from India; a Board of Commissioners was to supervise the proceedings of the governor and council, and to exercise abroad almost the entire power which the Court of Directors were authorised to employ at home. The ship in which the supervisors embarked was never heard of after leaving port, and the plan was abandoned.

The Crown began, in 1772, to take an interest in the administration of India, which up to this period had been exclusively vested in the E. I. Cy. In 1773, parliament passed a "Regulating Act," under which, as previously stated (p. 313), a supreme government was established at Calcutta, Warren Hastings was appointed governor-general, and several changes were made defining the constitution of the company, as regarded both Courts of Directors and proprietors, and the powers to be vested in the subordinate governments at Madras and Bombay.* In 1781, another act (21 Geo. III., c. 95) was passed, referring to the exclusive privileges of the company, which had hitherto been considered perpetual, but which were now fixed for a period of ten years, at the end of which the company was entitled to a three years' notice of the intention to resume the conceded privileges; and another step was taken to abridge the power of the company, or, at least, to associate it with that of the Crown. By a clause in the Charter Act of 1781, copies of all letters and orders relating to the civil or military government of India, were to be delivered to one of her Majesty's secretaries of state; and all documents relating to the revenues, to be forwarded to the lords of the treasury; and "the court should be bound by such instructions as they might receive from her Majesty, through one of the secretaries of state, as far as related to the conduct and transactions of the company and their servants with the country powers of India, as well as to the levying war and the making peace." Henceforth the company ceased to be solely responsible for the good government of the territories

* The president and council, at each of these stations, were also henceforth prohibited commencing hostilities, or declaring or making war against any Indian princes or powers, or negotiating or concluding any treaty of peace, or other treaty, without the consent or approbation of the governor-general in council being first obtained, except in such cases of imminent necessity as would render it dangerous to postpone hostilities or treaties until the orders from the governor-general in council might arrive, or unless special orders be sent from the E. I. Cy. in England.

entrusted to its care. Censure for omission or commission ought to be applied to the double government.

In 1783, a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inquire and to consider how the British possessions in the East could be best governed. In the succeeding year, Mr. Fox introduced his celebrated "India Bill," which was very adverse to the company,† "on the assumption that they had betrayed their trust, mismanaged their affairs, oppressed the natives of the country, and brought themselves to the verge of bankruptcy."‡ By the bill, it was proposed to place the territorial government, for four years, in the hands of seven directors, to be nominated by parliament; the commercial affairs (then of great magnitude) to be confided to nine "assistant directors," elected by proprietors of E. I. stock, but to act under the instructions of the seven nominated directors, who could remove the nine assistants. The company strongly protested against the bill; the measure became one of violent party feeling; the king wanted to be rid of Fox as his Majesty's prime minister, and called the youthful Pitt to his aid, who denounced the measure, which, however, was carried through the Commons on the 8th of December, 1783, by a majority of two to one; but was rejected, after several debates, by the House of Lords on the 17th of December, by a majority of nineteen.§ The ministry, also, was thrown out; Pitt succeeded Fox, and early in 1784, moved for leave to introduce a bill for the better government and management of the affairs of the E. I. Cy.: leave was refused by the Commons; parliament was dissolved; a new house, on the 6th of July, adopted the views of the minister; an act (24 Geo. III., c. 25) was passed constituting the Board of Control, or India Board of Commissioners, consisting of certain members of the privy council, including two of the secretaries of state and the chancellor of the exchequer for the time being; the first-named person, in the letters patent, to be styled the President. A secret committee (chairman, deputy chairman, and senior director) was formed out of the Court of Directors, through whom the Board of Control could communicate on all state matters of importance which it might not be deemed advisable to divulge to the Court, and who were to be compelled, if necessary, by *mandamus* from the Court of Queen's Bench, to transmit the orders of the Board to India. A secretariat and staff were organised for the Board, before whom were to be laid drafts of all despatches for inspection and revision; and if the Court failed, within fourteen days, to prepare despatches on any subject required by the Board, it was empowered to transmit the orders to India, without the concurrence of the Court. On this basis, subject to some alterations of detail in the renewed Charter Act of 1813, the government of India was administered, with slight modifications, until 1833, when the commercial character of the company ceased, the functions of the Court became entirely territorial and political, and subject still more to the supervision of

† In the caricatures of the day, Fox was represented as a carrier, with the India House on his back, with which he was proceeding along Leadenhall-street towards Westminster.

‡ Kaye's *History of the Administration of the E. I. Cy.*, p. 126.

§ Government, under the leadership of the Duke of Portland, had fifty-seven peers present, and nineteen proxies; the opponents, seventy-five present, and twenty proxies.

the Crown by the nomination of a fourth member of the council of India (Mr. T. B. Macaulay), who was also to be a law commissioner for the revision and codification of the Indian laws. Agra and the N. W. Provinces were formed into a lieutenant-governorship, under the immediate supervision of the governor-general. In every matter, the authorities in the East were subordinate to the Court of twenty-four Directors, elected by the shareholders of the E. I. Cy., and to the India Board or Board of Control, whose authority was made more absolute at each parliamentary interference.

In 1853 (20th of August), on the termination of the twenty years' tenure of power* granted in 1833 to the E. I. Cy., a new act of parliament was passed, "to provide for the government of India." Under this enactment, the usual lease of India for several years to the E. I. Cy. was abolished, and the company became tenants at will, in trust for her Majesty, her heirs and successors, as a supervising authority in England; subject in all things to the Board of Control as representative of the Crown, whenever that Board might choose to exercise paramount power in the government of Indian affairs. By this act, the number of directors chosen by the proprietary† was reduced from twenty-four to fifteen; and the Crown was empowered to appoint six directors—the first three immediately, the second three as casual vacancies occurred,—all to have previously served officially in India for at least ten years. The Court of Directors, "under the direction and control of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India," were empowered to appoint a separate governor, or lieutenant-governor, for Bengal, and thus release the governor-general from much detail (which has since been done.) Every appointment by the Court of Directors of ordinary members of council at each presidency, now requires the sign-manual and counter-signature of the president of the India

Board.‡ A *Legislative Council* has been constituted, for making laws and regulations; the council to consist of one member from each presidency or lieutenant-governorship for the time being, of not less than ten years' official service in India. The chief justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature, one other judge of the Queen's courts, and two other persons of ten years' standing in the service of the company, to be selected by the governor-general, whose assent is requisite to the validity of all laws. The discussions of this council are carried on in public, with reporters of the press in attendance, as in the English House of Commons. Under this act, the patronage of appointment to the civil and medical service of India, which had heretofore been vested in the Court of Directors, ceased, and the nominations henceforth were thrown open to public competition under certain regulations, and examiners ordered by the Crown. The patronage of military and naval officers and chaplains still remains with the Directory, who, in lieu of the advantages derivable from civil appointments, receive—chairman and deputy, £1,000 each; directors, £500 each, yearly.§ Such, in substance, are the leading features of the act of 1853: it makes no mention of the trading charter of the company, which is in abeyance; and it leaves parliament at liberty to decree, from time to time, whatever changes may be deemed advisable in the administration of Indian affairs at home or abroad. The nomination of the governor-general, governors, commander-in-chief of the army, and other high functionaries, remains, as before, a matter of arrangement between the Board and the Directory; the former with a controlling power. The Court claims the right of recalling a governor-general, as it did in the case of Lord Ellenborough: but there can be no doubt that the ministers of the Crown tacitly consented, for certain reasons, to that stretch of prerogative, which is unnoticed in the act of 1853.

* See p. 1, for changes in 1833.

† The number of proprietors of E. I. stock in April, 1852, entitled to vote in the election of directors by the possession of £1,000 stock, was 1,765; number having two votes, 311; three votes, 60; four votes, 42: total number of votes, 2,322. Number of voters in service of the company—civil service, 93: military, 160 = 253. Of twelve chairmen of the Court of Directors, between 1834 and 1852, all but three had served ten years in India; one had never been in the East; and two had commanded company's ships. Viewed as a whole, the Court of Directors, since the commencement of the present century, has contained many able men perfectly conversant with the affairs of India, and deeply interested in its welfare. At the present period, the Court possesses a high range of talent among fifteen members, all acquainted locally with India,—whose public character is identified with its good government and prosperity.

‡ The India Board consists of a president, who ranks as a secretary of state—salary, £5,000; parliamentary secretary, £1,500; permanent ditto, £1,500; assistant ditto, £1,200; five senior clerks, £900 to £1,150; six assistant ditto, £500 to £800; twelve junior ditto, £150 to £550; librarian, £400; and other officials. The secretariat establishment of the E. I. Cy. is large and well paid; but a government like that of India, where every transaction of the most trivial character is recorded in writing, and all correspondence and despatches, which are very voluminous, are transmitted in duplicate or triplicate, necessitates a large executive. The heads of departments are gentlemen of known talent and great experience; especially the secretary, Sir James Cosmo Melvill, who, by his administrative ability, information, and tact, is entitled to rank among the most eminent men of his

age. Edward Thornton, the historian of India; Professor Horace Hayman Wilson, the celebrated Orientalist; Mr. John Mill, son of the great historian (celebrated himself as an *economist* writer); Professor Forbes Royle, and Mr. Peacock, are among the *employés* at Leadenhall-street.

§ The patronage of the Court of Directors, previous to the act of 1852-'3, was undoubtedly large. I am also bound to add, that with a few exceptions, it was equitably distributed. From 1790 to 1835, the number of writerships (in civil service appointments) ranged from 20 to 25 a year; and from 1835 to 1851, the number at the disposal of the directors (exclusive of 40 at the nomination of the president of the India Board) was 546, or, per cent., 30. The cadetships for the army, and assistant surgeonries and chaplains, were also very numerous between 1796 and 1837: the total was 9,446; averaging 224 per ann. From 1835 to 1851, the number of cadets appointed (including 347 by the India Board president), was 4,916, or 289 per ann. Into the distribution of this patronage we have some insight, which is creditable to the distributors. Between 1813 and 1833, the number of cadets appointed was 5,092; of these, 409 were given to sons of military officers in the royal military, and 124 to those in the naval service; 224 to sons of company's civil servants; 491 to ditto in company's military servants; 40 to ditto of company's maritime service; 390 to sons of clergymen; and 1,119 to orphans and sons of widows. In the parliamentary returns of 1852-'3, the information is not so precise: of 546 writerships at the disposal of the directors, 164 were given to the sons of civil officers, and 96 to those of military = 260. Of 4,569 cadetships within the same date—342 to civil, and 1,100 to military officers of the company = 1,442.—(See Thornton's *Statistics* Kaye's *Administration of E. I. Cy.*—*Indian Progress.*)

It is not within my province or limits to criticise the changes that have been made, to say whether too much or too little has been done; time alone can now determine the wisdom of the policy adopted. The government of India is termed an "enlightened despotism." At Madras and Bombay, the governors are each aided by a council of three members, holding high office; the lieutenant-governors of Bengal and of Agra stand alone. The Supreme Council of India, with whom all power resides, consists of three or four members, of whom the commander-in-chief of the Anglo-Indian army is generally one: the other members are civil servants of the highest standing.

Each governmental department—such as foreign, home, financial, military—has a secretary of state, who is in fact its head, and responsible only to the governor-general, or, in the subordinate governments, to their respective administrators. There is, however, no uniformity: in some places there are departmental boards; in others, a single civil or military officer is entrusted with all power. The patronage of the governor-general is immense; for although seniority is the general rule, the exceptions are very numerous.

The administration of Indian affairs may be considered as in a transition state; the natives must, sooner or later, be admitted to a share in the executive and legislature of their country.* In Jamaica and the West India colonies, I recently saw negroes, of pure African blood, sitting as "honourable members of her Majesty's council," and as representatives of white and black men in the legislative assemblies. Shall we deny to educated and trustworthy Hindoo, Mohammedan, Parsee, and other native gentlemen, those rights which are conceded in other parts of the empire to Africans who, a few years since, were slaves in the lowest stage of servitude?†

I do think the time is arriving (if it have not already come), when intelligent men, of every creed and colour, pecuniarily independent, of good moral character, and whose loyalty to the British government is unquestioned, should sit in a general Legislative Assembly for all India. They might be selected—as in other transmarine dependencies—by the Crown, nominated for life (*quam diu se bene gesserint*), and enjoy some honorary rank or privilege:

* Of late years, the number of natives of India employed in the civil administration of the country, has been largely increased. The following official return shows the augmentation in twenty years:—

Positions held.—*Revenue and Judicial*—Principal Sudder Aumeens (native judges of three grades, who dispense civil justice)—1828, 64. Sudder Aumeens—1828, 157; 1849, 81. Moonsiffs—1828, 86; 1849, 494. Deputy magistrates—1849, 11. Deputy and assistant collectors—1849, 86. Sub-collectors' assistants—1849, 27. Abkaree superintendents—1849, 75. Tehseeldars—1828, 356; 1849, 276. Sherishtedars—1828, 367; 1849, 155. Mamlutdars—1828, 9; 1849, 110. Duffterdars—1828, 2; 1849, 19. Camavisdars—1828, 57. Adawluttees—1849, 5. Meer Moonshees—1849, 1. *Educational*—1828, 14; 1849, 479. *Various*—1828, 149; 1849, 990. Total, 1828, 1,197; 1849, 2,813. (Indo-Britons or Eurasians—as persons of mixed colour are designated—not included in these numbers.) Before 1828 there were only two grades of native judges, viz., the Sudder Aumeens and Moonsiffs. The office of Principal Sudder Aumeen was instituted in 1837, that of deputy collector in 1833, and that of deputy magistrate in 1843. In 1827, no native of India employed in the judicial or revenue department in Bengal received more than 250 rupees per mensem, or £300 per annum. The allowances now re-

this would prepare the way for a representative assembly and freer form of government.‡ In addition to this general council, municipal bodies might be formed in all the large cities, for cleansing, lighting, and police, erecting and supporting hospitals, and other useful institutions, and superintending generally the peace and welfare of the several communities. A general act might be passed, empowering the formation of these corporations in all cities having at least 10,000 inhabitants: the people would thus become familiarised to self-government, by managing their own local affairs; and the Hindoos would recognise, in an improved form, one of their most ancient and cherished institutions, and look to the re-establishment of the *punchayet*, or trial by jury, as an indispensable adjunct for the administration of justice. In a sanitary point of view,—in the suppression of crime,—in providing for the poor, infirm, and diseased,—and in organising the elements of civil life and social concord, the formation of municipalities throughout India would be attended with the most beneficial results.

For executive purposes, British India is divided into districts, each of which, on an average,§ contains the annexed area and population, and yields a land revenue as estimated:—

Presidency.	Area sq. m.	Population.	Land Rev.
			£
Bengal	3,200	1,000,000	103,000
N. W. Provinces	2,300	730,000	130,000
Madras	6,500	800,000	165,000
Bombay	4,200	600,000	160,000

Each of these districts in N.W. Provinces, Madras, and Bombay, is under the charge of *one* European official, styled "Magistrate and Collector." In Bengal Proper, the magistracy and collectorship are held by separate persons. These *covenanted* officers are of the highest class, and consist of those who go out as "writers" (the old designation.) The prize of these high appointments is now obtained by undergoing a public examination in languages and elementary branches of knowledge. The range of emoluments varies from £600 to £3,000 a-year and upwards; if the lieutenant-governorship or governor-

ceived are as follow, at 2s. the company's rupee. One receives £1,560; 8 receive £840 to £960; 12—£720 to £840; 68—£600 to £720; 69—£480 to £600; 58—£360 to £480; 277—£240 to £360; 1,173—£120 to £240; 1,147—£24 to £120 per annum. Since 1849, the number employed has been largely increased.

† Europeans and natives employed in India. BENGAL (in May, 1830, and 1850.)—*Judicial branch*—Europeans, 114 and 218; native, 11,161 and 22,800. Salaries, &c., 2,100,052 and 3,225,625 rupees per annum. *Revenue ditto*—Europeans, 112 and 204; natives, 3,447 and 6,806. Salaries, 651,962 and 1,601,810 rupees. *Customs*—Europeans, 82 and 146; natives, 1,652 and 271. Salaries, 290,490 and 340,835 rupees. *Salt*—Europeans, 41 and 32; natives, 8,569 and 4,786. *Opium*—Europeans, 15 and 42; natives, 1,638 and 2,066. Salaries, 157,433 and 378,620 rupees. Various other departments—Political, educational, &c.—Europeans, 375 and 573; natives, 16,247 and 32,076. Salaries, 2,642,437 and 4,932,356 rupees. *Commercial*—Europeans, 33 and 9; natives, 2,026 and 39. Salaries, 261,666 and 22,438 rupees. PUNJAB, (1850.)—Europeans, 185; natives, 10,986. Salaries, 1,619,546 rupees per annum.

‡ Natives of Ceylon sit in the Legislative Council there.

§ *Modern India*; by George Campbell, B.C.S.: London, 1852, p. 239.

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ship of a presidency be obtained.* The *uncovenanted* consist of Europeans, or Eurasians (gentlemen of colour born in India), who hold subordinate positions, and cannot rise into the covenanted class: their emoluments are good, but scarcely equal to their deserts. The number and position of this class are being augmented and improved; and many soldier-officers now find active employment in magisterial and other civil duties.

The number of covenanted or of uncovenanted civil servants at each presidency in 1834 and 1851, the number on the retired and on the active list, and on furlough respectively, is thus officially stated in June, 1852:—

Civil Servants.	Bengal.†	Madras	Bombay.‡
1834.			
<i>Covenanted:—</i>			
Active list (including those on furlough)	506	225	152
On furlough	63	32	29
Retired as annuitants (other retirements not known) . . .	37	26	10
<i>Uncovenanted:—</i>			
Active list	1,049	430	108
On furlough	None.	None.	None.
Retired (pensioners)	102	116	25§
1851.			
<i>Covenanted:—</i>			
Active list (as above)	498	188	126
On furlough	45	27	16
Retired as annuitants (other retirements not known) . . .	135	96	49
<i>Uncovenanted:—</i>			
Active list	2,014	838	120
On furlough	None.	None.	None.
Retired (pensioners)	78	113	4§
Who have served ten years:—			
1834.			
<i>Covenanted:—</i>			
Retired (those only who are annuitants being shown on the books)	37	26	10
On furlough	43	24	19
<i>Uncovenanted:—</i>			
Retired (pensioners only being shown on the books)	102	116	25
On furlough	None.	None.	None.
1851.			
<i>Covenanted:—</i>			
Retired (as above)	135	96	49
On furlough	26	16	13
<i>Uncovenanted:—</i>			
Retired (as above)	78	113	4
On furlough	None.	None.	None.

The duties of the European civil servants in India, are thus described by the E. I. Cy. in their statements laid before parliament in 1852-53:—

"Civil servants are prepared for the higher offices in Bengal by previous instruction in this country. At Haileybury the basis of education is European literature

* Governors of Madras and Bombay, and Lieutenant-governor of Bengal, £10,000 a-year each, and an official residence, &c.; members of council, £8,000 per annum; secretary of government of Bengal, £3,600 per annum. Such are a few of the prizes now thrown open to public competition throughout the British empire.

† Including Agra, the newly-acquired Cis and Trans Sutlej territory, and the Punjab.

‡ Including Sindh.

§ Exclusive of the pensioners on "Warden's Official Fund," which cannot be shown, as the accounts received from India do not distinguish Europeans from natives.

|| Exclusive of pensioners on "Warden's Official Fund."

and science (classics and mathematics), to which is added, the study of the general principles of law, together with political economy, history, and the rudiments of the Oriental languages.

"At the college of Calcutta the studies of the civilian are resumed, and directed to the mastery of the vernacular languages, the acquisition of the principles of Mohammedan and Hindoo law, and a familiarity with the regulations and the legislative acts of the Indian government; the object of the two institutions being to combine the education of an English gentleman with the qualifications of the native law officer.

"Upon passing his college examination, the civilian commences his career in the public service as assistant to a collector and magistrate. He is thus engaged alternately in the judicial and the revenue line. In his magisterial capacity, he takes the deposition of witnesses, and prepares cases for the decision of his superior; or he hears and determines, subject to revision, cases specially made over to him by the magistrate. His power of punishment extends to two months' imprisonment, a period which, when he is entrusted with special powers by the government, is enlarged to twelve months. As assistant in the revenue department, he decides petty claims relating to arrears or exactions of rent.

"After this apprenticeship of several years, the assistant is regarded as a candidate for promotion. He is then subjected to a further examination, with the view of testing his knowledge of the languages and the laws of the country; and his promotion is made dependent on the success with which he passes the test. That the examination is severe and searching, may be gathered from the fact, that of twenty civilians who came up in 1852, seven only were passed. A successful candidate is then deemed qualified for the office of collector or magistrate.

"As magistrate, he directs the police operations of his district, and takes cognizance of all criminal matters. The law provides for his dealing with certain classes of offences, but limits his power of punishment to three years' imprisonment. Parties charged with graver crimes are committed by him to take their trial before the sessions court.¶ In certain cases the magistrate may inflict corporal punishment, not exceeding a few stripes, and no other punishment is then superadded. Appeals from his sentences, or from those of his assistant, when vested with special powers, lie to the sessions judge.

"As collector, he has charge of the district treasury. He superintends the collection of the government rental; puts in execution coercive measures against defaulters; sells estates for arrears of revenue; and manages those escheated or bought by government. He superintends the partition of estates, and regulates the distribution of the government assessment among the several subdivisions. He also exercises judicial powers in settling, by summary

¶ "British subjects guilty of felony or other grave offences, are committed for trial before the Queen's Court. In cases of assault and trespass, they are subject to the jurisdiction of the magistrate (European or native), which extends to the imposition of a fine of 500 rupees, and to imprisonment for two months if not paid. An appeal from the decision of the magistrate lies to the sessions judge, and the case, if so appealed, is not liable to be removed to the Queen's Court by a writ of *certiorari*. Further, Europeans, by being rendered subject to penal recognizances for the maintenance of the peace, are virtually amenable to the jurisdiction of the *moftussil police*."

process, disputes among the agricultural community regarding rents.

"After further experience, the civilian is promoted to the judicial chair.

"The civil judge presides over the civil courts in his district, and supervises the dispensation of justice by his native functionaries. It is competent to him to withdraw suits from the courts below, and to try them himself.* He hears appeals from the decisions of his principal native judge, when the matter in dispute does not exceed the value of £500; but he may transfer appeals from the decisions of the other subordinate courts to the file of the principal native judge.

"In the sessions court the judge is required to try all persons committed for heinous offences by the magistrates. He has not the power of life and death, but his jurisdiction extends to sixteen years' imprisonment.† All capital cases, after trial, must be referred for the disposal of the Nizamut Adawlut; as also those cases in which the sessions judge dissents from the opinion of his Mohammedan law officer. Persons not professing the Mohammedan faith are not to be tried under the provisions of the Mohammedan law, but under the regulations, the judge being assisted by a *punchayet* or assessors, or a jury, but having power to overrule their opinion. The sessions judge holds a monthly gaol delivery, though in fact he may be said to be constantly sitting. He sits in appeal from sentences passed by the magistrates and their assistants.

"The Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, the highest of the company's courts, is composed of the judges selected from the civil and sessions judges. It has ceased to exercise any original jurisdiction. It is the court of final appeal in the presidency, and controls all the subordinate civil tribunals. Besides regular appeals from the original decisions of the European zillah judge, and in certain cases from those of the Principal Sudder Aumeen, the court is competent to admit second or special appeals from decisions of the courts below on regular appeals. The grounds for special appeal are when the judgments shall appear inconsistent with law or the practice or usage of the courts. The power thus given to the Sudder Court of hearing special appeals extends their means of supervision, and brings judicially before them the proceedings and decisions of all classes of judicial officers, and affords opportunity for correcting errors and insuring consistency, it being one of their duties to regulate the practice

* "In the trial of civil suits, original or appeal, it is competent to the European judge to avail himself of the assistance of natives in one of the three following modes:—1st. By a *punchayet*, who conduct their inquiries on points submitted to them apart from the court, and make their report to the judge. 2nd. By assessors, who sit with the judge, make observations, examine witnesses, and offer opinions and suggestions. 3rd. By a jury, who attend during the trial, and after consultation deliver in their verdict. But under all the modes of procedure described in the three clauses, the decision is vested solely and exclusively in the judge."

† "The great length of the terms of imprisonment in India is one of the vestiges of a barbarous law, or rather a consequence of its abolition. In 1793, the punishment of mutilation was abolished, and it was then ordained that if a prisoner be sentenced by the *futwa* of the Mohammedan law officer to lose two limbs, he should in lieu thereof be imprisoned for fourteen years, and if sentenced to lose one limb, to seven years. Under a later law, it is competent to the judge to impose two years' additional

and proceedings of the lower courts. Moreover, each judicial officer is required by law to record his decisions and the reasons for them in his own vernacular tongue; and this affords the Sudder Court extended means of judging correctly of the individual qualifications of their subordinates. The Sudder Court sits daily except during the Dusserah and the Mohurram,‡ when all civil proceedings are suspended. In the trial of appeals, the proceedings of the lower tribunals are read before one or more judges. A single judge is competent to confirm a decree. Two of three sitting together must concur for its reversal, whether the appeal be regular or special. Decisions of the court in suits exceeding in value £1,000, may be carried by appeal before the Queen in council. Monthly reports are received of the state of business from every district, and an annual report is made to government of the administration of civil justice, both in the Sudder Court and in its subordinate courts.

"*The Nizamut Adawlut.*—The judges of the Sudder Dewanny are the judges also of this court. The Nizamut has cognizance in all matters relating to criminal justice and the police of the country; but it exercises no original jurisdiction. Appeals from the sessions judges lie to this court, but it cannot enhance the amount of punishment, nor reverse an acquittal. The sentences of this court are final. In cases of murder and other crimes requiring greater punishment than sixteen years' imprisonment (which is the limit of the sessions judges' power), all the proceedings of the trial are referred for the orders of the Nizamut. The Mohammedan law officer of this court (unless the *futwa* be dispensed with) first records his judgment, and all the documents are then submitted to the judges of the Nizamut. If the case be not capital, it is decided by the sentence of a single judge. Sentences of death require the concurrence of two judges.§ Trials before the sessions judge for crimes punishable by a limited period of imprisonment, are also referred, as already intimated, for the disposal of the Nizamut, in cases where the sessions judge differs from the opinion of the Mohammedan law officer. As in civil matters, monthly abstracts of all trials are laid before the judges of the court sitting together, when the proceedings of the sessions judges are reviewed. In sentences of acquittal which may be disapproved, though the Nizamut cannot interfere so as to affect the sentence, the judge is admonished.

"*Revenue Commissioners and Board of Revenue.*

imprisonment in lieu of corporal punishment. A reduction in the terms of imprisonment has been repeatedly urged upon the government of India by the home authorities."

‡ "The Dusserah is a Hindoo festival continuing for ten days, which are appropriated to religious ceremonies. The Mohurram is a fast kept by Mohammedans in commemoration of the death of Hossein and Hassein, the two sons of Ali by his cousin Fatima, the daughter of Mohammed."

§ "If the judges of the Nizamut concur in the verdict of the lower court, and the prisoner be considered deserving of a higher degree of punishment than could be awarded by the sessions judge, he may be sentenced to suffer death, or to undergo imprisonment for twenty-one years; but if sentenced to imprisonment for life, then transportation for life, either to the penal settlements of Singapore, Penang, or Malacca, the Tenasserim provinces, Arracan, or Aden, would be substituted; but no native of India can be transported to New South Wales or the adjacent islands."

—In Bengal and the North-Western Provinces there are revenue commissioners, a class of officers superior to collectors, each of whom has authority extending over a division comprising several collectorates; his duty being that of watching the proceedings of the collectors therein, and ascertaining that in every respect they are regular and consistent with just principles of administration.

"All matters relating to the settlement, collection, and administration of the revenue, ultimately fall under the superintendence and control of a Board of Revenue, which exercises a general supervision over the proceedings of commissioners and collectors. Some arrangements, not dissimilar, exist for the like purposes under the other presidencies. Appointments to the Revenue Board, and also to the office of revenue commissioner, are made by selection from civil servants employed in the revenue department."

The average period of service of the Bengal civil servants is stated to be—Judges, Sudder Court, Calcutta, 34; members of Board of Revenue, 30; secretaries to supreme government, 25; magistrates and collectors, 18 to 26; magistrates, 7 to 19 years; other grades varying in proportion.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.—Within the limits of the cities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, there are supreme courts of judicature, vested with all the powers of the courts at Westminster, and presided over by chief and puisne judges nominated from the British bar. In these courts, trial by jury takes place; in civil and criminal cases, the law administered is in conformity with that of England, and there is a regular "bar" and solicitors. Beyond the limits of the three principal cities there are "company's courts," viz., at each presidency a supreme civil and a supreme criminal court; the former being one of appeal from numerous zillah or district courts, of which there are in Bengal, 32; in the N. W. Provinces, 21; in Madras, 20; in Bombay, 8. The European judges who preside in the company's courts are not educated for the "bar." There is no jury to assist in deciding on the facts of a case; the law is a compound of Hindoo, Mohammedan, and English principles, and a decision rests with the varying feelings and prejudices of the judge. This great defect will, it is expected, be corrected.

Civil justice is now almost wholly dispensed by native judges, styled Principal Sudder Aumeens, Sudder Aumeens, and Moonsiffs. The first-named are divided, in Bengal, into two classes, who receive each £720 and £480 per annum. Sudder Aumeens receive £300, and Moonsiffs £100 to £200 per annum.* Their functions are thus officially described:—"The jurisdiction of the two lower grades is limited to suits in which the matter in dispute does not exceed a certain value, the limit being of course higher in regard to the upper of these two grades than to the inferior. To the jurisdiction of the highest native judge there is no such limit. To these different classes of native judges is entrusted the original cognizance of all civil suits; and no person, whether British or native, is exempt from their jurisdiction."

"The first grade of native judges (Principal Sudder Aumeens) may sit in appeal from the decrees of the two inferior courts; and as the law, except in special cases, allows but one trial and one appeal, the power of final decision in by far the larger number of suits rests with native judges.†

"Further, suits wherein the amount in dispute exceeds £500 may be tried either by the Principal Sudder Aumeen or by the European zillah judge, if he so please. But in either case an appeal lies only to the highest company's court, the Sudder Adawlut.‡ Here then the native judge exercises the same extent of jurisdiction as the European functionary. Native and British qualification and integrity are placed on the same level. The suits now entrusted to a head native judge were confided, before the passing of Act No. 25 of 1837, to no officer below a European provincial judge.

"The number of appeals affords evidence of the feeling of the people in respect to the administration of the law. The number affirmed and reversed is evidence of the qualifications, intellectual and moral, of the native functionaries as estimated by their superiors. The proportion of appeals to original decisions in the suits disposed of in the N. W. Provinces, for seven years, is about fifteen per cent.; the proportion of decisions reversed in the original suits is little more than four per cent., as shown in the following table:—

Years.	Original Suits decided on Merits.		Appeal Suits.		Reversals.	Proportion of Reverses to Original Suits.
	By Zillah Judges.	By Native Judges	By Europ. Judges	By Native Judges		
1843	31	39,181	4,505	3,083	2,301	5½ per cent.
1844	17	40,213	4,397	2,902	2,020	5 "
1845	10	40,579	3,980	2,809	1,895	4½ "
1846	3	41,775	3,900	2,392	1,676	4 "
1847	8	43,169	3,608	2,559	1,673	3¾ "
1848	11	41,340	3,977	2,916	1,736	4 "
1849	20	44,933	3,802	3,674	2,042	4½ "

* Mr. Edward Thornton, in reference to these salaries, says—"If the value of money be estimated by the wages of labour in the two countries, it would appear that its worth is about seven times greater in India than in England. The rate of wages issued to 2,000 men employed on the Calcutta and Bombay mail-road is three rupees, or 6s. per month each; and assuming the rate of wages in England at 10s. per week, £24 in India is equal to £168 in England."

† "A. sues B. for a debt of £10. The suit is instituted in the Moonsiff's court, and conducted by a vakeel or pleader. The pleadings and motions may be submitted in writing, the pleader merely examining the witnesses, or he may have recourse also to oral pleading. The judge is required by law to record his decision, and the reasons for

it, upon the face of his decree. The dissatisfied party may appeal from the decision to the European judge of the district, who either hears the appeal himself, or refers it to his Principal Sudder Aumeen. The decision in either case is final, except upon a point of law, when a special appeal lies to the Court of Sudder Adawlut; thus the subordinate courts' proceedings are brought under supervision."

‡ "The course of proceeding in such cases is as follows:—C. sues D. for £1,000. The suit must be instituted in the court of the head native judge; and if not withdrawn by the European judge of the district, it is tried by the native judge. The appeal in either case lies to the Sudder Adawlut, from whose decision, however, there is an appeal to the Queen in council, in all cases where the value in dispute amounts to £1,000."

"By a more recent enactment, natives of India are eligible to the office of deputy magistrate. They are competent in that capacity to exercise the powers of the European covenanted assistant, and even under orders of the local government, the full powers of magistrate. When entrusted with the latter, their power of punishment extends to three years' imprisonment, and they are also competent, in cases of assault and trespass committed by Europeans on natives, to inflict a fine to the extent of 500 rupees, and to imprison for the period of two months, if the fine be not paid. Natives are frequently invested with full powers of magistrates.

"Native deputy collectors are subordinate to the European collectors, but they are competent to transact any of the duties of the collector. Their proceedings are recorded in their own names, and on their own responsibility.

"The selection and promotion of native judicial functionaries are regulated as follows:—Vakeels or pleaders, before obtaining diplomas, must have passed an examination before a committee, consisting of the European revenue commissioner, the European judge of the district, the Principal Sudder Aumeen, the principal of the college or other educational establishment at the station, and such other officers as may be appointed by the government.

"The examination may be presumed to be of stringent character, from the following results:—In 1852, at Agra, twenty-seven candidates presented themselves for examination,—*none* passed. At Bareilly, forty-eight candidates, of whom *two* passed. At Benares, seventy-two, of whom *four* passed. The Moonsiffs (the lowest grade of native judges) are selected from the vakeels, and appointed by the Court of Sudder Adawlut. The Sudder Aumeens are selected from the Moonsiff class by the Sudder Adawlut, and appointed by the government. The Principal Sudder Aumeens are selected from the class of Sudder Aumeens, and appointed by the government. The service is one of gradation, but not of seniority, the superior ranks being filled up by the most efficient men of the inferior."

A reform is needed in this important section of our civil government of India. By the Charter Act of 1833–4, it was intended to remedy the defect; and it was mainly with this object that a distinguished person (T. B. Macaulay) was then nominated fourth member of the council of India. Indian law commissioners (T. B. Macaulay, Macleod, Anderson, and Millett) were subsequently appointed, and in June, 1835, laid before the governor-general a draft penal code to be applied to all India; and in October, 1847, it was finally printed for distribution, examination, and discussion at home and abroad. The code contains twenty-six chapters, with notes on each, occupies 124 folio pages, and is undoubtedly a philosophical production. The principal sections refer to *offences against*, or in relation to, the state, army and navy, public tranquillity, government servants, justice, revenue, coin, weights

and measures, public health, safety and convenience, religion and caste, the press, offences against the human body, property and property marks, documents, illegal pursuit of legal rights, criminal breach of service contracts, marriage, defamation, criminal intimidation, insult and annoyance, abetment and punishment.† This code has been much criticised; but nothing has been done towards carrying it into effect, or amending its provisions.

ANGLO-INDIAN ARMY.—It is usually said, that the tenure of British power in India is held by the "sword:" this tenure is, however, changing into one of "opinion," *i.e.*, a conviction of the justice, honesty, and advantage of our rule; it will, however, require many years before the latter be fully acknowledged, and before the motley, unsettled, and in many parts turbulent people subjected to our sway, can be left to the simple administration of a purely civil government. The army of India (as was recently that of Ireland) must be considered a police force for the preservation of internal tranquillity, and, by means of its well-educated 6,000 European officers, as an efficient means of promoting the civilisation of the people.

The formation of a body of armed men had its origin in the necessity of protecting factories in which valuable goods were stored, after the manner previously adopted by the Portuguese, and their predecessors (the Arabs) on the coasts of Asia and of Africa. When once a selected class are set apart, with weapons in their hands, to protect the lives and property of others, discipline becomes imperative, and for this purpose a few Europeans were sent from England. In 1747, an act of parliament provided for the regulation of the E. I. soldiers; and in 1754, articles of war, comprised in fifteen sections, were founded on the above act, and promulgated "for the better government of the officers and soldiers in the service of the company of merchants trading in the East Indies." Dupleix organised a brigade, with French officers; the English, in self-defence, did the same. Hindoo and Mohammedan rulers sought the aid of foreign mercenaries, and assigned territorial revenues for their support; interference with the disputes of native states created the necessity for more troops; Hindoos and Moslems were ready to enlist under French or English banners, and made good soldiers; they fought against each other, irrespective of caste or creed,—were faithful and attached to their European leaders; and, in due process of time, an Anglo-Indian standing army was formed and brigaded (*see* p. 304), which grew from year to year, until it has now attained the following proportions:—Aggregate strength of the Indian army in 1851,† 289,525: component parts—Queen's regiments—five of dragoons, twenty-four of infantry = 29,480 men; E. I. Cy's. European infantry, six regiments = 6,266 men; company's artillery, 16,440, divided into European horse and foot, and native foot or Golundanze; engineers, or sappers and miners, 2,569. *Natives*—cavalry, regular, twenty-one

* Statistical Papers relating to India, laid before parliament by E. I. Cy., 1853.

† Parl. Papers, No. 673—Commons; 3rd August, 1838.

‡ In 1764, there were eighteen battalions of native infantry, perhaps about 15,000 men. In 1765, Clive found the army of Bengal (the principal forces) consisted of four companies of artillery, a troop of hussars, about 1,200 irregular cavalry, twenty-four companies of European infantry, and nineteen battalions of sepoys, with a due proportion of European officers. The aggregate

strength of the Anglo-Indian army, in 1799, was—Bengal, 53,140, including 7,280 Europeans; Madras, 48,839, including 10,157 Europeans; Bombay, 22,761, including 4,713 Europeans: total, 124,740; of these, 22,150 were Europeans. The above comprised—of her Majesty's troops, dragoons, four; infantry, eighteen—regiments. In May, 1804, the number of her Majesty's troops serving in India, was—cavalry, 2,072; infantry, 9,911 = 11,983. The number of troops has varied from time to time, according to the exigencies of war.

regiments = 10,186; irregulars, thirty-four corps = 21,134; infantry regular regiments, 155 = 157,711; ditto irregular regiments, 53 = 39,613; veterans, or native invalid corps for garrison duties, 4,124 men. Among the natives, proportion of Mohammedans to natives, one to four. European commissioned offi-

cers, 5,142; warrant ditto, 243. Medical establishment—E. doctors, 824; native ditto, 652; apothecaries, &c., 287. Aggregate cost per annum, about £10,000,000. The army of each presidency is kept distinct under the governors and councils, but all under the control of the governor-general and council.

*Land Forces in 1854.**

In India.	European Commissioned Officers.	European Warrant and Non-Com. and Rank and File.	Native Com., Non-Com., and Rank and File.	Total.
Queen's troops	896	25,930	—	26,826
Company's troops, European	588	14,061	—	14,649
" " Native	3,644	3,122	233,699	240,465
Total	5,128	43,113	233,699	281,940
Punjab subsidiary troops and contingents } from native states	86	36	30,882	31,004
Police, militarily organised	35	—	24,015	24,050
Grand total	5,249†	43,149	288,596	336,994

The company's European and native troops are under the discipline of articles of war granted by parliament; the officers hold commissions under the sign-manual of the Queen, and have been recently authorised to rank in England on the same footing as H.M. troops of the line. The company is empowered to employ in India 20,000 European soldiers, irrespective of the Queen's troops, but not to have at one time in Britain more than 4,000 men.

The sepoys of the Indian army consist of men of all castes and creeds: the Bengal troops, which are considered the highest caste, are recruited principally from Oude, Rajpootana, and the N. W. Provinces (a mixture of Hindoos and Mussulmen); the men are hardy, bold, powerful—good materials for soldiers: the Bombay force has its recruits from Oude, Deccan, Concan, &c. Hindoo, Moslem, Jew, and Portuguese, all contribute to make hardy, efficient troops, who will dig trenches (to which the Bengal soldiers object), and fight in them with as much courage as the Rajpoots. The Madras, like the Bombay troops, are termed "low caste," but quite equal to their compeers in any other part of India. It is said that the Bengal troops do not stand being "knocked about," or, in other words, "rough" it so well as the other divisions. In the Punjab force there are now many Seik soldiers. The pay and advantages of the three presidencies have been equalised: the sepoys get a higher and more certain remuneration than is known in any other oriental service; and a scale of pensions is fixed adequate to native wants. The period of enlistment is fifteen years: no bounty

is paid; the service being popular, there is always abundant offers of recruits.

The artillery, horse and foot, is unrivalled by that of any European power, save in its draught cattle; bullocks and elephants being still partially employed for the siege or field artillery, which number about 400 guns. There are five brigades of horse artillery; twelve battalions of European foot artillery; and six battalions of native foot artillery. The horse artillery is considered the "crack" corps of the Anglo-Indian army. Its cadets at Addiscomb rank next to the *engineers*, the prize for which is obtained by those who attain the highest position after three years' hard study and competition;‡ the young engineers are subsequently instructed for a year at Chatham, along with the royal engineers, and are also required to possess a knowledge of the civil branch of their profession. Their pay and advantages are higher than those of the artillery, and their services much in request for the development of the resources of the country.

The cavalry is divided into two departments—the regular and irregular; the latter term being given to those corps where the trooper provides and feeds his own horse, and supplies his arms and equipments, for which he receives an allowance from the government of twenty rupees = 40s. a-month;§ in the regulars, the state provides the horse, arms, and clothing, and gives the soldier pay and batta for his subsistence—about nine rupees = 18s. a-month.

There are also regular and irregular infantry regiments, the difference consisting chiefly in the former

* House of Commons' Return, 17th April, 1855.

† In 1760, the number of European officers in the Bengal army was sixty; viz., nineteen captains, twenty-six lieutenants, and fifteen ensigns.

‡ As an illustration of the fairness with which the appointments are made, the following case may be cited. Sir Henry Willock, with commendable public spirit, placed a nomination to Addiscomb at the disposal of the Kensington Free Grammar School. Several youths started for the prize; it was given, after a hard contest, to a friendless youth whose competitors were all seniors to himself, and several of them possessed of family connections. The lad went to Addiscomb, and determined to stand for an engineer appointment: he worked hard night as well as day, knew no vacation, and soon outstripped cadets of older standing than himself; the second year he obtained the honour of the corporal's sword, and the third year, after a neck-

and-neck struggle, reached the goal, and became Lieutenant Julius George Medley, of the Bengal engineers. He is now in a high and responsible position in the Punjab, a credit to the service, and a honour to his respected parent, the late William Medley, the eminent banker and financier, to whose generous and patriotic spirit several of the best of our monetary institutions (such as the *Provincial Bank of Ireland*, and the *Bank of British North America*) owe their origin.

§ The irregulars, whose numbers have recently been increased by the addition of twenty-eight regiments, making altogether 21,000 men, are very useful. Cavalry thus formed are not half the expense of a regular corps; the service is liked, the discipline is not strict—(it may be termed "free and easy")—there are more native and fewer European officers, and the men can march without baggage at a moment's warning.

always receiving half a batta (3s. a-month), which is only allowed to the latter when on service or escort duty. This, however, is very often, as the transmission of treasure from one part of India to another gives employment annually to about 30,000 soldiers.

In the Punjab several Seik and other local corps have been organised since the disbandment of our former antagonists: among them is one called the *Guide corps*; it consists of both cavalry and infantry, officered by Europeans. Most of the wild or warlike tribes in Upper India are represented in its ranks; the men unite all the requisites of regular troops with the best qualities of guides and spies,—thus combining intelligence and sagacity with courage, endurance, soldierly bearing, and a presence of mind which rarely fails in solitary danger and in trying situations. Men habituated from childhood to war and the chase, and inured to all the dangers of a wild and mountainous border, are freely admitted into its ranks. To whatever part of Upper India the corps may be marched, it can furnish guides conversant with the features of the country and the dialect of the people: it is thus calculated to be of the most essential service in the quartermaster-general's department, as intelligencers and in the escort of reconnoitring officers.* This excellent force was raised in 1846, at the suggestion of Colonel H. M. Lawrence, and was of great use in the second Seik war, and on other occasions. The corps has been recently augmented to 800 men, who receive rather higher pay than the ordinary soldiers.

Promotion is slow in the Indian army. In January, 1844, the Bengal artillery had ten colonels, whose period of service ranged from forty to fifty-three years; ten lieutenant-colonels, thirty-five to thirty-nine years; ten majors, thirty-one to thirty-five years; captains, eighteen to thirty years; engineers—four colonels, thirty-three to forty-eight years; four lieutenant-colonels, twenty-six to thirty-one years; four majors, twenty to twenty-six years; captains, fourteen to twenty years. Cavalry—ten colonels, twenty-four to thirty-eight years; ten lieutenant-colonels, thirty-five to forty-two years; ten majors, twenty-five to thirty-five; captains, eighteen to twenty-four years: other ranks in proportion. Retirements are effected by the juniors purchasing out the seniors; that is, paying them a certain sum of money to induce them to retire on the pension due to their rank:† the money for this purpose is procured by loans from the Indian banks, for the security of which all officers below the party retiring are expected to become bound, or be “sent to

Coventry.” This is said to be one of the causes of the pecuniary embarrassments which prevail among the juniors of the Indian army: the buying out of old officers is, however, deemed essential to efficiency; and it is proposed to legalise the procedure by act of parliament. A liberal spirit pervades all ranks; and a handsome provision is made for the children of brother-officers who die in India.‡

The Indian commissariat is well managed; the troops are continually on the move, well fed, attended and provided with hospital stores. The executive of this branch consists of a commissary-general, deputy, and joint-deputy ditto, first and second-class assistants, &c.—all Europeans, chosen from the company's European regiments. When an army takes the field, there are about three registered camp followers to each fighting man. The peace establishment of carriage cattle is large: of elephants, about 500; of camels, 5,000. Knapsacks, of forty pounds each, are carried for the men. A subaltern, on the march, is allowed one camel (which costs about three rupees a-month) to carry his baggage; other officers, of higher rank, in proportion. During war, a doolie or litter, with six bearers, is appointed to every twenty Europeans; among the native corps there are two doolies to each company. Supplies are procured by tenders and contract. The feeding of the troops is excellent; the sepoys get two pounds of flour daily. Porter and ale are sent out from England for the canteens. Punkahs, to keep the air cool, are supplied to the barracks and hospitals; regimental libraries are established in European corps; and of late years (particularly during the command-in-chief of Sir William Gomm)§ large barracks, better bedding, improved ventilation, and plunging baths for daily ablution, have been adopted throughout India. By these and other judicious measures the mortality has been greatly diminished: recently, among European troops, it amounts to—for Madras, two; Bombay, three and a-half; Bengal, five and a-half—per cent. The invalidings are heavy: to keep up 100 soldiers, it requires ten annually to supply the decrement by death, invaliding, discharges, and staff appointments. Each European soldier costs, when landed in India, not less than £100. The entire expense of her Majesty's troops serving in Hindoostan is defrayed from the Indian revenues. The discipline of the Anglo-Indian army¶ is excellent,|| the morale good, and its efficiency as an armed force has been repeatedly proved.¶ It is said by some, that the cordial feeling between the European officer and

* Report of Punjab Commissioners, 1851, p. 27.

† The buying-out amount varies: a senior captain or junior major of the Bombay artillery would receive £3,500 to £4,000 for retiring on his pension.

‡ In August, 1782, the Bengal army had reached a position to entertain, and subsequently to carry into effect, a project for the maintenance of the orphans of European officers; which is still in operation. A fund was provided by a monthly contribution, deducted from the pay of the several ranks under colonel, viz., subalterns and assistant-surgeons, three; captains and surgeons, six; and majors, nine—rupees each. Governors and managers were appointed by the subscribers, and the foundation laid of one of the most useful institutions in the East, which promptly and liberally at once received the support of the Indian government.—(*Original Papers*, &c.: London, 1784; 8vo. p. 56.)

§ This experienced officer, whose sanitary measures for the health of the troops in the West Indies I noticed in the volume containing that section, thus refers to the

same subject in a recent letter to me from Simla:—“With regard to improved barrack accommodation for the European troops, I may report to you at once very satisfactorily, the government has promptly attended to all my representations made to it with this view, and acceded invariably to all my requisitions made upon it in furtherance of this most desirable object. Thus the quarters at Peshawur, Rawul-Pindee, and Meean Meer, have been prepared with all practicable expedition; those of Umballa have been essentially improved; while at Ferozepoor and Cawnpoor (in healthy sites), an entirely new set of barracks have been recently sanctioned.”

|| The number of officers dismissed from the service by sentence of court-martial, between 1835 and 1857 (inclusive), was—for Bengal, 47; Madras, 45; Bombay, 16 = 108: which is certainly not a large number among four or five thousand men during seventeen years.

¶ The Anglo-Indian officers are, as a class, superior in military knowledge to the junior officers of similar rank in the Queen's service.

his men does not now exist in the same degree as it did in the times of Clive and Coote, or even at a later period; but be this as it may in the regular regiments, there must be a considerable degree of attachment still prevailing in the "irregulars," where the few officers are so intimately dependent on the feelings of the men for their military success.

The nature of the climate, which renders the luxuries of the temperate zone absolute necessities,—the habits and caste of the people, which require several men to do the work that one would perform in Europe, and the wear and tear of life, make the Anglo-Indian army a heavy expense on the revenue. The following shows the comparative cost of a regiment of each arm of the service in India, Queen's and Company's:—Her Majesty's dragoons, eight troops—701 non-commissioned and rank and file, £79,680; native cavalry, six troops—500 native commissioned, non-commissioned, and rank and file, £34,840; brigade of horse artillery, consisting of three European troops and one native—341 European non-commissioned and rank and file, and 218 native commissioned, non-commissioned, and rank and file, including gun Lascars, £59,310; battalion of European foot artillery, consisting of four companies—336 European non-commissioned and rank and file, and 140 native commissioned and rank and file, gun Lascars, £31,020; battalion of native foot artillery, six companies—630 native commissioned, non-commissioned, and rank and file, £22,330; regiment of her Majesty's infantry, nine companies—1,068 non-commissioned and rank and file, £61,120; regiment of company's European infantry, ten companies—970 non-commissioned and rank and file, £52,380; regiment of native infantry, ten companies—1,160 native commissioned, non-commissioned, and rank and file, £25,670; regiment of irregular cavalry, of six *ressalahs*—584 native commissioned, non-commissioned, and rank and file, £18,770; regiment of local infantry, of ten companies—940 native commissioned, non-commissioned, and rank and file, £13,700.

In 1851, the total charges (including military buildings) of 289,529 soldiers, Europeans and natives, was £10,180,615, or £35 per head. The distribution of cost for the year 1849–50, which differs but slightly from that of the year 1851, is thus shown:—Her Majesty's cavalry, £188,651; her Majesty's infantry, £771,148; engineers, £76,101; artillery, European and native, H. E. I. C., £576,318; regular native cavalry, £479,075; irregular, £728,247; company's Europeans, £175,954; regular native infantry, £2,880,054; irregular, £431,857; veterans, £128,257; medical department, £142,038; ordnance, £154,813; staff, £415,862; commissariat, £1,248,986; buildings and miscellaneous, £1,701,562. Grand total, £10,098,926.

Taking the number of the Anglo-Indian army, regulars and irregulars, at 330,000, of whom about 50,000 are Europeans, or one Englishman to about six natives, it cannot be considered a large force for the maintenance of peace, and the protection of a country which extends 18,000 miles from north to

south and from east to west, and comprises a population of about 200,000,000, of whom, not long since, ten men at least in every hundred were armed, and most engaged in some internecine strife, but now all subjected to the dominant sway of one power. Add to these considerations a land frontier of 4,500 miles, and the necessity of being at all times ready to repel invasion, and to preserve the mass of the people from plunder, and we may not be surprised at the extent, but at the smallness of the force employed on an area of about 1,500,000 sq. m.: the result shows one soldier to about 600† inhabitants; whereas, in France, there is one soldier to seventy inhabitants; Austria, one to seventy-two; Russia, one to sixty; Prussia, one to fifty-six. In most of the old civilised countries of Europe, the standing armies, in proportion to the population, are ten times larger than those of India. The garrison in and around Paris exceeds in number that of the European troops in all India.

The number of officers removed from regimental, and employed in civil and on detached duties, is large. In 1851, it consisted of—colonels, 37; lieutenant-colonels, 47; majors, 48; captains, 479; lieutenants, 400; cornets and ensigns, 29 = 1,040.† The complement of regimental officers in 1851, consisted—European infantry, one colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, twelve captains, twenty lieutenants, and ten ensigns; native infantry, one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, six captains, ten lieutenants, and five ensigns; cavalry, one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, six captains, eight lieutenants, and four ensigns.

It would seem advisable to organise an Indian staff corps—a civil department of the army—of a strength in accordance, from time to time, with the necessities of government. A good discipline, education, and moral training, under military surveillance, where the Christian principles predominate, is an effective school for preparing young and intelligent men for the exercise of their powers on a large scale. At present, owing to the want of civilians, the government is allowed to drain off one-third of the officers of the line; military men are extensively employed in political duties, and the regiments are denuded of their officers to an extent which often seriously damages the efficiency of the corps. Double the number of officers might be appointed to each regiment, and after they had passed examination in the native languages, and had served three years in regimental duties (as now prescribed), the option should be given of retiring from the military to the civil branch of the army, or for employment as magistrates, superintendents, electric telegraph, geological surveys, and in other functions, for which peculiar talents might qualify.

INDIAN NAVY.—There is a small maritime force under this designation, consisting of about thirty-three sailing and steam-vessels, which have rendered good service in the Persian Gulf during the China war, and in surveys of the Indian coasts and havens. The steamers are now chiefly employed as post-office

* Parliamentary Evidence, 14th December, 1852, p. 9, of P. Melvill, the experienced chief of military dept.

† I do not take into account the irregular troops in the service of native states; they are very ineffective, unless when disciplined by English officers.

‡ Officers on furlough 30th April, 1851.—Military, private affairs, 146; sick certificate, 542 = 688. Medical, private affairs, 18; sick certificate, 93 = 111: total, 799. These figures do not include colonels of regiments,

of whom the number on furlough, in 1851, was—Bengal, 70; Madras, 50; Bombay, 29: total, 149. Number of officers of each army employed, in 1851, on detached service, civil and political and military respectively.—Bengal, civil and political, 151; military, 430. Madras, civil and political, 44; military, 208. Bombay, civil and political, 42; military, 165. Officers of engineers not included. A corps of civil engineers, trained for Indian service, would be useful.

packets between Bombay, Aden, and Suez. A few of these are of large burthen; the vessels are well armed, manned with Europeans and Lascars, and altogether thus officered:—One commodore, eight captains, sixteen commanders, sixty-eight lieutenants, 110 mates and midshipmen, fourteen pursers, and twelve captains' clerks: a surgeon, detached from the army, is placed on board the larger-sized vessels. The pay is good. Commodore, £250 a-month, with an official residence; post-captains, £80 to £90; commanders, £50 to £70; lieutenants, £12 to £15 (and £2 5s. a-month table money while afloat); pursers, £25 to £30; clerks, £5—a-month. Retiring pensions, after twenty-two years' service—captains, £360; commanders, £290; lieutenants and pursers, £190—*per annum*. The above ranks retiring from ill-health, after ten years' service, £200, £170, and £125 *per annum*. In 1852, there were fifty-three officers on retired list and nine on furlough. There is an excellent pilot establishment, maintained by government, at the Sand Heads, off the entrance of the Hooghly river, where it is much needed.

SUBSIDIARY AND PROTECTED STATES AND PENSIONARIES.—At pp. 5—12 will be found a tabular view of the states of India not under our immediate government, with their area, population, soldiery, and revenue. The British relations with protected states are entrusted to officers selected from either the civil or military services, according to their abilities, and denominated Residents, Governor-general's Agents, or Commissioners, as the case may be: at the larger political agencies there are European assistants to the Residents, who have, in some cases, charge of deposed princes. Practically speaking, the "Resident" is, or ought to be, a check on the native ruler when he does ill: a guide and supporter when he does well. Civil independence, with military superiority, is in reality a nullity; and although the Resident does not interfere, except in extreme cases, with the general administration of affairs, he expects to be consulted in the selection of a minister of state; and a system, founded on precedent, has grown to have almost the force of law, though a wide discretion is necessarily left to the

British functionaries, who have, by remonstrance and persuasion, rather than by direct interference, put down, in several states, *suttee*, infanticide, and other inhumanities. This system, which answered well at an earlier stage of our dominion, has now nearly outgrown the purposes for which it was designed. Power in the chief, without responsibility, has worked ill for the subject: relieved from external danger in war, and from internal rebellion caused by misgovernment,—indolence, sensuality, and crime found full scope; and we have been obliged to assume the duties of lord paramount where princes have died without heirs, or where it became a positive obligation to prevent the misery and ruin of the people of an entire kingdom.

The stipendiaries who receive annually political payments from the British government, are thus stated:—The King of Delhi (a lineal descendant of the Mogul emperors, but now totally divested of power), £150,000; Nabob of Bengal (a descendant of Meer Jaffier—see p. 291), £160,000; families of former Nabobs, £90,000; Nabob of the Carnatic (a descendant of a former Mohammedan viceroy), £116,540; families of former Nabobs of Carnatic, £90,000; Rajah of Tanjore (descendant of a petty military chief), £118,350; Rajah of Benares (a deposed Zemindar), £14,300; families of Hyder and Tippoo (both usurpers—see pp. 316—17—and bitter enemies of the English), £63,954; Rajahs of Malabar, £25,000; Bajee Rao (deposed Peishwa), £80,000; others of Peishwa's family, £135,000; various allowances, including political pensions, compensations, &c., £443,140: total, £1,486,284. It would certainly seem advisable to exercise some surveillance over the recipients of these large sums: most of them are usurpers and upstarts of yesterday, and really have no claim to these extravagant pensions; the more so, as in several cases these large annuities avail themselves of the means thus provided to bad lives of debauchery and idleness, pernicious to themselves and to all around. The main plea for the continuance of the pensions is the large families and harems of the stipendiaries.

CHAPTER VI.

FINANCE—INCOME AND EXPENDITURE—INDIAN DEBT—MONETARY SYSTEM.

DURING the early periods of our intercourse with India, the profits derived from commerce mainly furnished the means for maintaining the necessary establishments. After the acquisition of Bengal (1765), an income was derived from land, customs,

and such other sources as contributed to fill the exchequer of our Mohammedan predecessors.† Subsequent additions of territory furnished revenue to defray the charges attendant thereon: and thus, from time to time, the finances were enlarged,

* *Modern India*; by G. Campbell, B.C.S.: p. 150.

† The oppressive taxes levied by the Mohammedans have been abolished, including the inland transit dues. Among the exactions during the Mogul rule, which are not now collected, the following may be enumerated:—*Jesych*, or capitation tax, paid by Hindoos or other "infidels;" *meer bekry*, port duties (probably similar to our custom duties); *kerrea*, exaction from each person of a multitude assembled to perform a religious ceremony; *gawshemary*, on oxen; *sirderukhty*, on every tree; *peish-cush*, presents; *feruk-aksam-peeshch*, poll-tax collected from every workman; *daroghauch* (police); *teeseldary*

(subordinate collector); *fotedary* (money-trier), taxes made for those officers of government; *wejech keryeh*, lodging charges for the above officers; *kheryteh*, for money-bags; *scrafy*, for trying and exchanging money; *hassil baazar*, market dues; *nekass*, tax on the sale of cattle, and on hemp, blankets, oil, and raw hides; also on measuring and weighing, and for killing cattle, dressing hides, sawing timber, and playing at dice; *vahdary*, or passport; *pug*, a kind of poll-tax on salt, spirituous liquors, storax, and lime—on fishermen, brokerage, hearths, buyer and seller of a house, and other items comprised under the term of *serjerjehat*.—(See *Ayeen Akbery*, for details.)

540 REVENUES AND CHARGES OF BENGAL, MADRAS, AND BOMBAY.

Revenues and Indian Charges (independent of home expenses)† of each Presidency.—At 2s. the Sicca Rupee.*

Years.	BENGAL.			MADRAS.				BOMBAY.		
	Revenue.	Charge.	Surplus.	Revenue.	Charge.	Surplus.	Deficit.	Revenue.	Charge.	Deficit.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1814	11,237,498	8,876,581	2,360,917	5,322,164	5,189,412	132,752	—	857,080	1,717,144	860,064
1815	11,415,799	9,487,638	1,928,161	5,106,107	5,261,404	—	155,297	872,046	1,986,444	1,114,398
1816	11,967,259	9,796,974	2,170,285	5,360,220	5,142,553	217,667	—	895,592	1,946,118	1,050,526
1817	11,769,552	10,281,822	1,487,730	5,381,307	5,535,816	—	154,509	1,292,820	1,956,527	563,707
1818	12,399,475	10,677,015	1,722,460	5,361,432	6,006,420	—	644,918	1,720,537	2,597,776	877,239
1819	12,224,220	10,826,734	1,397,486	5,407,005	5,825,414	—	418,409	2,161,370	3,204,785	1,043,415
1820	13,518,968	10,688,439	2,830,529	5,403,506	5,700,466	—	296,960	2,438,960	3,299,170	860,210
1821	13,361,261	10,356,409	3,004,852	5,557,028	5,500,876	56,192	—	2,883,042	3,667,332	784,290
1822	14,169,691	10,317,196	3,852,495	5,585,209	5,229,202	356,007	—	3,372,447	4,275,012	202,567
1823	12,950,308	10,912,710	2,037,598	5,498,764	6,398,856	—	900,092	2,789,550	3,264,509	454,959
1824	13,484,740	12,620,179	864,561	5,460,742	5,789,333	—	348,591	1,785,216	3,305,982	1,520,765
1825	13,121,282	13,793,499	†	5,714,915	6,056,967	—	342,052	2,262,393	4,032,988	1,770,595
1826	14,767,238	13,405,152	1,362,086	5,981,681	5,634,322	347,359	—	2,618,549	4,000,552	1,382,003
1827	14,944,713	13,486,879	1,457,834	5,347,838	6,188,127	—	840,289	2,579,905	4,062,566	1,482,661
1828	10,125,416	7,747,834	2,377,582	5,391,272	6,671,111	—	79,839	1,300,311	2,421,715	1,121,404
1829	9,858,275	7,615,697	2,242,578	3,455,068	3,499,283	—	44,215	1,316,044	2,318,054	1,002,010
1830	9,883,892	7,340,650	2,543,242	3,415,759	3,388,628	27,131	—	1,304,300	2,128,637	914,337
1831	9,474,084	7,635,974	1,838,110	3,322,155	3,239,261	82,894	—	1,401,917	2,060,499	658,582
1832	9,487,778	7,687,229	1,800,549	2,969,956	3,174,347	—	204,391	1,497,309	2,034,710	537,401
1833	8,844,241	7,018,447	1,825,793	3,235,233	3,258,995	—	23,762	1,600,681	1,968,045	367,364
1834	9,355,289	7,322,303	2,032,986	3,368,948	3,017,676	351,272	—	1,503,782	1,908,092	404,310
1835	10,057,362	7,085,079	2,972,283	3,590,052	2,830,549	759,503	—	1,805,946	1,953,568	147,622
1836	10,263,012	6,941,973	3,321,039	3,235,117	2,817,533	417,584	—	1,704,213	1,980,763	276,550
1837	9,904,438	7,004,451	2,899,987	3,512,813	3,022,138	490,675	—	1,649,051	1,954,950	305,899
1838	10,375,426	8,070,634	2,304,792	3,533,803	3,082,652	451,151	—	1,418,464	1,940,729	522,265
1839	9,561,444	8,437,736	1,123,708	3,535,875	3,581,405	—	45,530	1,445,296	2,083,222	637,926
1840	9,741,240	8,943,099	798,141	3,563,343	3,352,075	211,268	—	1,827,922	1,966,380	138,458
1841	10,437,861	9,367,408	1,070,453	3,593,910	3,356,993	236,917	—	1,750,884	1,995,073	244,189
1842	10,829,614	9,934,751	894,863	3,628,949	3,380,783	248,166	—	1,960,683	1,991,530	30,847
1843	11,523,933	10,122,149	1,401,784	3,601,997	3,342,573	259,424	—	2,046,728	2,204,121	157,393
1844	11,861,733	9,575,683	2,286,050	3,512,417	3,479,580	32,837	—	1,918,607	2,496,173	577,566
1845	12,174,338	10,170,220	2,004,118	3,589,213	3,523,598	65,615	—	2,047,380	2,569,910	522,530
1846	12,900,254	10,445,969	2,454,285	3,631,922	3,449,618	182,304	—	2,120,824	2,662,100	541,276
1847	11,947,924	10,546,089	1,401,835	3,638,589	3,373,445	265,144	—	1,990,395	2,553,286	562,891
1848	12,053,936	10,536,367	1,517,569	3,667,235	3,221,495	445,740	—	2,475,894	2,929,520	453,626
1849	11,243,511	11,033,835	3,209,676	3,543,074	3,138,378	404,696	—	2,489,246	2,999,119	509,873
1850	13,879,966	10,818,429	3,061,537	3,625,015	3,212,415	412,600	—	2,744,951	3,086,460	341,519
1851	13,487,081	10,970,120	2,516,961	3,744,372	3,244,598	499,774	—	3,172,777	3,151,870	20,907
1852	14,015,120	11,239,370	2,775,750	3,766,150	3,307,192	458,958	—	3,166,157	3,279,118	112,961

* In the above statement, from the year 1823, the allowances and assignments payable to native princes and others under treaties (amounting to upwards of a million and a-half per annum), and the charges of collecting the revenue, including the cost of the opium and salt (amounting to upwards of two millions and a-half more), have been excluded in order to arrive at the real produce of the revenue.

In the tabular statement, down to the year 1827, the gross revenues are shown; and the rate of converting the Indian money into sterling is 16 per cent. higher than the rate at present used.

† *The Territorial Payments in England, in 1849-'50* (latest return made up), were:—Dividends to proprietors of East India stock, £629,435; interest on the home bond debt, £173,723; purchase and equipment of steam-vessels, and various expenses connected with steam communication with India, £50,543; her Majesty's government, on account of the proportion agreed to be borne by the company of the amount payable under contract between her Majesty's government and Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company for an extended communication with India and China, £70,000; transport of troops and stores, deducting freight charged in invoices, £36,418; furlough and retired pay to military and marine officers, including off-reckonings, £614,393; payments on account of her Majesty's troops serving in India, £200,000; retiring pay to her Majesty's troops (Act 4 Geo. IV., c. 71.) including an arrear, £75,000.

Charges, general, comprising:—Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India; salaries of the president and officers of the board, including superannuation allowances granted by warrant of the Crown under Act 53 Geo. III., cap. 155, sec. 91, £30,523; salaries of the Court of Directors, £7,600; contingent expenses of the Courts of Directors and Proprietors, consisting of repairs to the East India House, taxes, rates, and tithes, coals, candles, printing, stationery, bookbinding, stamps, postage, and various petty charges, £28,829; salaries and allowances of the secretaries and officers of the Court of Directors, deducting amount applied from the fee fund in part payment thereof, £93,794; annuitants and pensioners, including compensation annuities under Act 3 & 4 Will. IV., cap. 85, and payments in commutation thereof, £198,199; Haileybury College, net charge, £9,074; military seminary at Addiscombe, net charge, £4,057. Recruiting charges: pay of officers, non-commissioned officers of recruiting establishments, and of recruits previous to embarkation, bounty, clothing, arms, and accoutrements, £13,438; passage and outfit of recorder, Prince of Wales' Island, Bishop of Madras, aides-de-camps, chaplains, company's officers in charge of recruits, officers in her Majesty's service proceeding to join their regiments, and volunteers for the pilot service, &c., £22,655; charges of the store department, articles for use in inspection of stores, labour, &c., £4,201; Lord Clive's fund, net payment for pensions, &c., £36,519; law charges, £12,215; cultivation and manufacture of cotton, &c. in India (expenses incurred in view to the improvement of), £547; commission to agents at the outposts on realisation of remittances, £260; maintenance of lunatics, £6,466; miscellaneous—consisting of expenses of overland and ships' packets, maintenance of natives of India, donation to the Bengal Civil Fund and to widows' funds for the home service, donations for services and relief, &c., £7,657. Interest paid upon sums deposited by Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, £1,722; East Indian Railway Company, £2,983; absentee allowances to civil servants of the Indian establishments, £32,383; annuities of the Madras Civil Fund of 1818, £15,385; retired pay and pensions of persons of the late St. Helena establishment, not chargeable to the Crown, £5,795. The total territorial payments, including invoice value of political stores (£375,100), and some small items not above enumerated, was £2,750,937.

† Deficit of £852,217.

§ In this and following years, the receipts and charges of Siade are included in Bombay.

¶ In this and following years, the revenues and charges of the Punjab are included in Bengal. ¶ Surplus.

The receipts for the year 1852-'53, were—Land-tax, £15,365,000. *Sayer* (stamps, &c., on land) and *abkarree* (excise on spirituous liquors), £1,185,000; *moturpha* (tax on houses, shops, trades, and professions),* £118,000; salt, £2,421,000; opium, £5,088,000; custom or import duties, £1,430,000; stamp-duties, £491,000; post-office receipts, £200,000; mint ditto, £150,000; tobacco, £63,000; tributes and subsidies, £571,000; miscellaneous (comprising arrears of revenue, marine and pilotage dues), £1,522,000: total gross receipts, £28,610,000.

The disbursements for the same year were—Interest on India and home bond debt, £2,503,000; charges defrayable in England, viz., dividends to proprietors of E. I. stock, £650,000; E. I. House and India Board establishments, half-pay and pensions, stores, &c., £2,697,000; army and military charges, £9,803,000; judicial establishments, £2,223,000; land revenue collection and charges, £2,010,000; general charges and civil establishments, £1,928,000; opium charges and cost of production, £1,370,000; salt, ditto, £350,000; marine (including Indian navy, pilot service, lighthouses, &c.), £376,000; post-office, £213,000; customs—collecting import duties, £189,000; mints, £60,000; stamps, £32,000; miscellaneous (including *sayer*, excise, *moturpha*, public works, &c.), £4,223,000: total charges, £27,977,000.

THE INDIAN DEBT requires a brief elucidation: it was originally created to meet the temporary wants of commerce, and subsequently those of territory; money was borrowed in India, in such emergencies, at high rates of interest. In April, 1798, the debt amounted to £8,500,000;† of this, £1,300,000 was at twelve, £4,000,000 at eight, £1,700,000 at six—per cent.; the remainder at various lesser rates, or not bearing interest.

In April, 1803, the debt stood at £17,700,000; of which £10,200,000 was at eight, £3,000,000 at ten, £600,000 at twelve—per cent.; remainder as above.

In April, 1804—debt, £21,000,000; of which £3,000,000 at ten, £1,200,000 at nine, £12,000,000 at eight—per cent.; remainder as above.

In April, 1834—debt (exclusive of home bond), £35,000,000; in April, 1850, £47,000,000; in 1855, about £50,000,000. Annual interest of debt, at five and four per cent., about £2,000,000.

There is a home India debt, which has been created from time to time to meet deficiencies in remittances required for home charges: it now amounts to about £2,500,000.

Proportion of debt due to Europeans and to natives, in 1834—Europeans, £20,439,870; natives, £7,225,360 = £27,665,230. In 1847, Europeans, £21,981,447; natives,‡ £12,271,140 = £34,252,587.

The India debt has been mainly caused by war:§ that with the Burmese cost, from 1824 to 1826, at least £13,000,000. The debt was augmented by it from £26,468,475 to £39,948,488, or £13,500,000. During the ten years from 1839-'40 to 1848-'49 (which was almost uninterruptedly a period of warfare in Afghanistan, Sind, the Punjab, and Gwalior), the aggregate charges exceeded the revenues of India by £15,048,702, showing an annual deficiency of £1,500,000.

There was a nominal reduction of the debt between 1830 and 1834, by an alteration of the high rates of exchange, previously used, to the rate of two shillings the sicca rupee, adopted after the passing of the act 3 and 4 William IV., ch. 85: by this the debt appeared reduced from £39,948,488 in 1830, to £35,463,483 in 1834. There was a real reduction to £29,832,299, between 1834 and 1836, by the application to that purpose of a portion of tea sales and other commercial assets, derived from a winding up of the mercantile business of the E. I. Cy. The progress of the debt bearing interest in India is thus shown:—

Years.	Value.	Years.	Value.	Years.	Value.
	£		£		£
1834	35,463,483	1841	32,051,088	1848	43,085,263
1835	33,984,654	1842	31,378,288	1849	44,204,080
1836	29,832,299	1843	36,322,819	1850	46,908,064
1837	30,406,246	1844	37,639,829	1851	47,999,827
1838	30,249,893	1845	38,627,954	1852	48,014,244
1839	30,231,162	1846	38,992,734	1853	49,043,526
1840	30,703,778	1847	41,798,087	1854	—

There is in India, as well as in England, a constant tendency to increased expenditure. In fifteen years the augmentation stood thus:—

Years.	Total Revenue.	Charges.		Debt.	
		India.	England.	India.	Home.
	£	£	£	£	£
1834-'35	18,650,000	16,680,000	2,160,000	35,460,000	3,523,237
1849-'50	25,540,000	23,500,000	2,700,000	47,000,000	3,899,500

This increase has taken place in addition to £8,122,530|| appropriated from commercial assets, in 1834, towards liquidation of India debt, and £1,788,522 applied to reduction of home bond debt: total £9,911,055; and notwithstanding a reduction in the interest of the India debt from six and five to five and four per cent. An annual deficit of upwards of a million sterling, for about a quarter of a century, does not appear satisfactory, and requires

not merely vigilance to keep down expenditure, but still more, the utmost efforts to raise revenue by increasing the paying capacities of the people. Assuming the British India population at 130,000,000, and the annual revenue at £28,000,000, the contribution per head is about fifty-two pence each per annum. A people in prosperous circumstances would yield much more than four shillings and fourpence each yearly.

* This tax, a relic of the Moslem system, still exists at Madras: its abolition is under consideration.

† Instead of giving rupees, which perplex an English reader, I give the sum, converted into sterling, at 2s. the rupee.

‡ Between 1834 and 1846, the sums invested by Indian princes in the India debt, has been—King of Oude, £1,200,000; rajah of Mysore, £84,000; Bajee Rao,

£50,000; rajah of Gurhwal, £10,000; Chimna, Indore, £25,000; Pretap Sing, Tanjore, £6,000.

§ During the present year (1855), a five per cent. loan has been created, to be applied solely to the extension of public works. In November, 1840, a similar proposition was submitted by the author to the E. I. Cy.

|| Of this sum, £2,677,053 constituted the principal of the Carnatic debts.

The debt due to the E. I. Cy. is provided for. In 1834 the sum of £2,000,000 was set apart from the commercial assets of the company to be invested in the English funds (three per cents.), and to accumulate at compound interest, at forty years (until 1722), in order to pay off the E. I. Cy's. stock of £6,000,000,* at the rate of £200 for every £100 stock; making the total amount to be liquidated in 1874, £12,000,000. In May, 1852, the £2,000,000 had increased, by the annual reinvestment of three per cent. int., to £3,997,648.

The tangible commercial property sold under the act of 1834, realised £15,223,480, which was thus disposed of:—£8,191,366 towards discharge of India debt; £2,218,831 was applied in payment of territorial charges in England; £1,788,525 was applied in liquidation of part of home bond debt; £2,000,000 was paid into the Bank of England, for investment in the funds, to provide a "security fund," at compound interest, for the ultimate redemption of the capital stock of the company (£6,000,000) in 1874; £561,600 was applied in compensations to ship-owners and other persons; and the remainder, of £463,135, was retained in London, as an available cash balance for the purposes of government in India. The unavailable assets claimed as commercial by the company—viz., the India House in Leadenhall-street, one warehouse retained for a military store department, and house property in India,—the whole, valued at £635,445,—remains in the hands of the company, but applicable to the uses of the Indian government.†

MONETARY SYSTEM.—Silver is the standard of value: the coins in circulation are—the rupee of silver, value two shillings; the anna of copper, three-halfpence; and the pice, a base metal, whereof twelve represent one anna.

The rupee contains 165 grains of fine silver, and fifteen grains of alloy; when silver is worth five shillings per ounce, its value is one shilling and tenpence farthing; the average rate of remittance, by hypothecation, from India, has been at the rate of one shilling and elevenpence three farthings; bullion remittances have averaged one shilling and tenpence, four per cent. over the metallic value of the rupee. It is usually converted into sterling, approximately, for nominal purposes at two shillings.

Gold coins, termed pagodas and mohurs, are now seldom seen. There are no means of ascertaining the amount of the circulating medium, in metal or in paper: government possess no returns on the subject. The quantity of specie (value in rupees) issued from the mints, in several years, has been:—

Mints.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.
	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.
Calcutta, 1847-'48 . .	10,286	12,158,939	35,116,331
" 1848-'49 . .	46,980	15,211,580	47,724,328
" 1849-'53, 4 yrs.	151,299	84,534,529	116,571,391
Madras, 1848-'53, avg. of the 5 years . .	—	3,271,189	6,159,671
Bombay, avg. of same period	—	17,264,598	{ none coined.
Total	208,565	132,440,835	205,571,721

* This capital consisted originally, on the union of the two companies in 1708, of £3,200,000 (see p. 230); between 1787 and 1789, this sum was increased to £1,000,000; from 1789 to 1793, to £5,000,000; and from 1793 to 1810, to £6,000,000.

† Evid. of Sir J. C. Melvill.—(Parl. Papers; May, 1852.)

‡ An admirable memoir of this distinguished Indian statesman, and selections from his valuable papers, have

PUBLIC BANKS IN INDIA.—Until within the last few years, there was only one public joint-stock bank (*Bengal*) in India. This institution owed its formation, at the commencement of the present century, to the financial ability of the late Henry St. George Tucker,† and was eminently successful. In 1829-'30 I proposed and assisted at the organisation of the *Union Bank of Calcutta*. It was soon taken out of my hands by the leading merchant bankers, who used its capital and credit to prop up their insolvent firms: it did not, however, prevent their failure for £20,000,000 sterling, leaving a dividend of not many pence in the pound. The *Union Bank* held its ground for a few years, but it ultimately fell with another great crash of Bengal traders, and was then ascertained to have been, for the last few years of its existence, a gigantic swindle.

In conjunction with Sir Gore Ouseley and other friends, I tried to establish in London an East India Bank, which should act as a medium of remittance between Britain and India. The government and several members of the E. I. Cy. were favourable, but private interests, connected with individual banking and agency, were too powerful at the E. I. House. A charter offered was clogged with restrictions which would defeat the object in view; and after an expenditure of several thousand pounds, and five years of untiring perseverance, the project was abandoned, when I went to China, in her Majesty's service, in March, 1844. Since then a local bank, formed at Bombay, established a branch in London—has now its head-quarters (*Oriental Bank*) there, with branches in India and China, and appears to be doing a large and profitable business. Acting on my suggestions, banks were established at Bombay and Madras, on the same governmental basis as that of Bengal; their notes being received as cash by government, and remittance operations prohibited. There are now about a dozen public banks in India, whose aggregate capital is only about £5,000,000: but no returns of their position are made to the E. I. House. There are numerous governmental treasuries in different parts of India. To meet current expenses, and to provide against contingencies, large cash balances are kept there. In 1852, the coin ready for emergencies was £12,000,000.‡

The Hindoos have no joint-stock banks among themselves; the *shroffs*, or money-changers, issue *hoondees*, or bills of exchange, which are negotiable according to the credit of the issuer; the leading *shroffs* in the principal towns correspond not only with their brethren in all parts of India, but also in the large cities of Asia, and even at Constantinople: by this means important European intelligence was wont, before the establishment of communication by steam, to be known among the natives in the bazaar at Calcutta, long before the government received official tidings.

been recently prepared by Mr. J. W. Kaye, who has attained a high reputation as a biographer.

§ In June, 1855, the assets of the general treasuries was—Bengal, 15,200,000 rupees; Madras, 2,000,000; Bombay, 9,200,000 = 26,400,000 rupees, of which 22,300,000 was in specie. The assets of each of the three governmental banks was, in April, 1855—B. Bengal, 27,682,636 rupees; B. Madras, 6,062,163 rupees; B. Bombay, 12,077,566 rupees. Excess of assets over liabilities of each, 10,863,264 rupees; 2,996,958 rupees; 5,340,480 rupees. Coin in these three banks, 10,660,000 rupees. Bank notes outstanding, 17,500,000 rupees. Government bills and debentures, 6,400,000 rupees.

CHAPTER VII.

COMMERCE—IMPORTS—EXPORTS—SHIPPING—VALUABLE PRODUCTS—CAPABILITY OF GREATLY INCREASED TRAFFIC.

THE commerce of India has, for many ages,* been deemed of great value; but considering the extent and resources of the country, it was not until recently carried on with England to any large extent. In 1811-'12, our dominion was firmly established in Hindoostan, and there was general peace: a contrast between that year and 1851-'2, will show its progress in forty years:—

Total Commerce.	1811-'12.	1851-'52.
Value of merchandise imported } from the United Kingdom . . . }	£ 1,300,000	£ 9,300,000
Ditto from other countries . . .	160,000	3,100,000
Total Imports	1,460,000	12,400,000
Merchandise exported to the } United Kingdom }	1,500,000	7,100,000
Ditto to other countries	600,000	12,700,000
Total Exports	2,100,000	19,800,000

Thus, exclusive of bullion, coin, or treasure, there has been, in merchandise alone, an increase of imports from £1,460,000 to £12,400,000, and of exports, from £2,100,000 to £19,800,000. The treasure transit, at the two periods, has been:—1811-'12—imported, £230,000; exported, £45,000: 1851-'52—imported, £5,000,000; exported, £910,000. The shipping of all nations entering at the two periods,

was—1811-'12, 600,000 tons; 1851-'2, 1,700,000 tons.

In 1811, it was gravely asserted before parliament, by several witnesses, that the trade of India could not be extended; that it was not possible to augment the consumption of British manufactures; and that the people of Hindoostan had few wants, and little to furnish in exchange. The answer to this is an extension from one to nine million worth. Yet the trade of India is still only in its infancy; and but for the unjust prohibitions† to which for many years it was subjected in England, it would now probably be double its present value. Assuming the population of all India at 200,000,000, including about 60,000 Europeans, and the exports of our merchandise at £10,000,000,‡ there is a consumption of only one shilling's worth per head. Our exports to the United States of America, in 1851, amounted to £21,400,000, or, for 25,000,000 inhabitants,§ about seventeen shillings per head of the population; to Australia, for 700,000 persons, to £12,000,000, or about £17 per head during a year of diminished trade. Even the negro population in the West Indies, under one million in number, take off nearly £2 sterling per head of British produce; and the colonists of British America, £5 each yearly. The exports from the United Kingdom to India, in the year 1854, already, however, equal in amount those sent in the same year to France (£3,175,290), Spain

* Three hundred years before the Christian era the India trade was a tempting prize to Alexander, and it continued to be an object of solicitude to Europe and to Asia. In 1204, the Venetians, assisted by the soldiers of the fourth crusade, obtained possession of Constantinople, and retained the occupation for fifty-seven years, mainly by the advantages of Indian commerce: these were, in the 13th and 15th centuries, transferred to their rivals the Genoese (whose colonies extended along the Euxine and towards the Caspian), in return for assistance given to the Greeks. The Venetians then entered into a treaty with the Mohammedans, and conducted their commerce with the East *via* Egypt and the Red Sea. The discovery of a maritime route by the Cape of Good Hope, destroyed the overland trade by Egypt and Asia Minor. The construction of a ship canal through the isthmus of Darien, would give a fresh stimulus to the commerce of the East.

† For many years, great commercial injustice was done by England to British India. High, indeed prohibitory, duties were laid on its sugar, rum, coffee, &c., to favour similar products grown in the West Indies: still worse, we compelled the Hindoos to receive cotton and other manufactures from England at nearly nominal duties (two and a-half per cent.), while, at the very same time, fifty per cent. were demanded here on any attempt to introduce the cotton goods of India.—(See Commons Parl. Papers; No. 227, April, 1846; called for, and printed on the motion of one of the oldest and most independent members, Edward Stillingfleet Cayley, M.P. for N. R. Yorkshire.) The same principle was adopted in silk and other articles: the result was the destruction of the finer class of cotton, silk, and other manufactures, without adopting the plan of Strafford, in Ireland, during the reign of Charles I.—namely, the founding of the linen trade as a substitute for that of woollen, which was extinguished in order to appease the English hand-loom weavers. To remedy the

evil of treating India as a foreign state, I appealed to the common sense of the nation, through the public press, to a select committee of parliament, by voluminous evidence, and, aided by Sir Charles Forbes and other eminent merchants, on 11th May, 1842, carried the principle of the following motion in the General Court of Proprietors of the E. I. Cy., as the sequel of a resolution laid before the Court on the previous 22nd December, "praying that parliament, in the exercise of justice and sound policy, will authorise the admission of the produce and manufactures of British India into the ports of the United Kingdom, on reciprocal terms with the produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom when imported into British India—that East India vessels be entitled to the privileges of British shipping, and that the produce of subsidiary states, whose maritime frontiers we have occupied, be treated as that of British India."—(See *Asiatic Journal* for January, 1842.) "That in the opinion of this Court, the territories under the government of the E. I. Cy. ought to be treated as integral portions of the British empire; and that as a revision of the English tariff is now taking place, this Court, in fulfilment of its duty to their fellow-subjects in British India, do again petition both houses of parliament, praying for a complete reciprocity of trade between India and England, which, if fully and fairly established, will confer mutual and extensive benefits on both countries, and materially contribute to the security and permanence of the British power and influence in the eastern hemisphere."—(See debate thereon in *Asiatic Journal*, May, 1842.) The late Sir R. Peel admitted the injustice, and adopted measures for its redress, which merged into the low import system, by a misnomer designated *free trade*, which does not exist with any country.

‡ In 1854, £10,025,969.

§ Census of 1850, 23,351,207, including 3,178,000 slaves.

(£1,270,064). Portugal (£1,370,603), Sardinia (£1,054,513), Lombardy (£635,931), Naples (£563,933), Tuscany (£505,852), Papal States (£149,865), Denmark (£759,718), Sweden and Norway (£736,808.)

The export of British manufactures and produce to India ought to amount to at least twenty shillings per head, which would be equal to £200,000,000 sterling, or twice the value of our present exports to

* Export of British and Irish produce and manufactures to every part of the world, in 1854—£97,298,900.

† India could supply cotton for all Europe. For some years experiments have been made, and considerable expense incurred, by sending out seed from America, and American agents to superintend the culture and cleaning: no corresponding result has ensued; the main elements of skill, energy, and capital are still wanting. Western and Central India, especially the provinces of Guzerat and Berar, afford the best soils and climate for the plant; but roads, railways, and river navigation are needed; and it is a delusion to think that India can rival the United States until they are supplied. With every effort that government and individuals have made since 1788, when the distribution of cotton-seed commenced, the import of cotton wool from India was, in 1851, no more than 120,000,000 lbs.—not one-seventh of the United States' supply. Improvement of the navigation of the Godavery and other rivers, will probably cause an extension of production. *Silk* has long formed an article of Indian commerce: it was probably introduced from China, but was not largely produced until the middle of the 18th century, when the E. I. Co. sent (in 1757) a Mr. Wilder to Bengal,—urged the planting of the mulberry; and granted, in 1765, reductions of the rents of lands where attention was paid to the culture of the tree, and in 1770—'75, introduced the mode of winding practised in Italy and other places. When Napoleon, in 1808, stopped the exportation of silk from Italy to England, the Court made successful exertions to furnish large supplies of flatware wound in Bengal, and to augment the supply of silk goods, which is an increasing trade. An unlimited quantity of the raw and manufactured material can be produced in India. *Wool* of every variety, from fine down adapted to the most beautiful fabrics, to the coarse, wiry, and long shaggy hair which makes excellent carpets, is procurable, and now exported to the extent of several million lbs. annually. The plateau and mountain slopes of India sustain vast herds of sheep in a favourable climate, with abundant pasture. It is a trade susceptible of great development. *Indigo* is a natural product of many parts of India. Until the close of last century, Europe derived its chief supplies from South America and the West Indies. About 1779, the Court of Directors made efforts to increase the production by contracting for its manufacture. In 1786, out of several parcels consigned to London, one only yielded a profit: the aggregate loss of the company was considerable. Improvements took place in the preparation of the dye; and, in 1792, the produce of Bengal was found superior to that of other countries; in 1795, the consignments amounted to 3,000,000 lbs. Several civil servants of government established indigo factories; private Europeans came into the trade; capital was advanced by the merchant bankers of Calcutta, who sometimes lost heavily, and sometimes acquired immense gains. Happily, low duties were levied in England, and the cultivation and manufacture largely augmented, and now it is spread over about 1,200,000 acres of land in Bengal and Bahar, employing 50,000 families, and requiring an annual outlay of more than a million and a-half sterling. *Sind* is now becoming a competitor with Bengal, and is said to have the advantage of immunity from heavy rains, which wash the colour from the leaves when ready to be cut. *Sugar* is an indigenous product of India; it was carried from thence into Sicily, the south of Europe, the Canaries, and subsequently to

every part of the world.* Let not this be deemed an extravagant assertion: the capacity of Hindoostan to receive our goods is only limited by that which it can furnish in return; and, happily, the country yields, in almost inexhaustible profusion, wherever capital has been applied, all the great staples which England requires, such as wheat, rice, sugar, coffee, tea, cotton, silk, wool, indigo, flax and hemp, teak, and timber of every variety,† tallow,

America; the cane is grown in every part of India, and its juice used by all classes. For many years the export to England was discouraged by the imposition of high duties to favour the West India interest; and in 1840, I was under examination for several days before a select committee of the House of Commons, adducing evidence of the necessity of admitting East India on the same terms as West India sugar into the United Kingdom. The quantity exported has increased of late years, but again fallen off. In the year ending June 30th, 1855, the sugar imported from the East Indies amounted to 739,144 cwt.; Mauritius, 1,237,678 cwt.; West Indies, 3,139,209; foreign produce, 3,117,665 = 8,233,696 cwt. Duty received, £5,330,967. Average price of Muscovado, for the year, per cwt.—East Indies, 23s. 4d.; Havannah, 22s. 9d.; British West Indies, 20s. 11d.; Mauritius, 20s. 2d. Thus it will be perceived, that the imports from all India are little more than one-half of the small island of Mauritius, and that the price is higher (despite labour wages at 1½d. a-day) than in any other country. The consumption of sugar in the United Kingdom, in the year ending 30th June, 1855, was—8,145,180 cwt.—=912,260,160 lbs., which, for 27,000,000 people, shows 34 lbs. per head annually, or about 10 oz. a-week for each individual. In the *Taration of the British Empire*, published in 1832, when the consumption was only about 5 oz. a-head weekly, I endeavoured to demonstrate that by reducing the duty, and extending the market of supply, the consumption would be doubled; which has taken place: now, by affording encouragement to sugar cultivation in India, the consumption in the United Kingdom would probably increase to at least 1 lb. a-week per head. The *tea shrub* has been found growing wild in Assam, and contiguous to several of the lower slopes of the Himalayas: it delights in sheltered valleys, the declivities of hills, or river banks with a southern exposure, as in Gurhwal, Kumaon, and at Katmandoo (Nepaul), where a plant ten feet high has been seen. In 1788, it was announced officially that this remarkable herb was indigenous to India; but no attempts were made to encourage the cultivation, lest the China trade should be disturbed. In 1835, Lord Wm. Bentinck brought the subject under the notice of the E. I. Co. and of the public; a committee of investigation was appointed, who decided in favour of an experimental culture. In 1839, an Assam tea company was incorporated in London, with a capital of £500,000; the directors went to work energetically, and have spent £200,000, a large part of which, however, was wasted. Experience has been dearly bought; but under the able supervision of Mr. Walter Prideaux, a large crop is at present secured, and annually increasing. The tea crop for three years, in Assam, amounted to—in 1852, 271,427 lbs.; in 1853, 366,687 lbs.; in 1854, 478,258 lbs. The yield of 1855 is expected to realise £50,000, and the expenditure half that sum. The Assam tea is of excellent quality, so also is that of Kumaon. By perseverance and judgment, we may hope to be less dependent on China for this now indispensable and cheering beverage. *Coffee*, a native of Yemen (Arabia), has long been naturalised in India: it is grown, of excellent quality, in Malabar, Tellicherry, Mysore, and other contiguous places. *Tobacco* was introduced in 1605, during the reign of Akber,—is now cultivated in every part, and in general use; but as a commercial article, is inferior to the American weed. Care only is required to produce the finest qualities. This is the case at Chunar on the Ganges, Bhilsa near Nagpoor,

hides and horns, vegetable oils, tobacco, peppers, cardamoms, ginger, cassia, and other spices, linseed, saltpetre, gum and shell-lac, rum, arrack, caoutchouc and gutta-percha, canes or rattans, ivory, wax, various dyes and drugs, &c.

These constitute the great items of commerce; and the demand for them in Europe is immense—in fact, not calculable: 200,000,000 Europeans could consume twenty times the amount of the above-mentioned products that are now supplied; 200,000,000 Hindoos would consume, in exchange, an equal proportion of the clothing, manufactures, and luxuries from the

Woodanum in the Northern Circars, in the low islands at the mouth of the Kistna (from which the famed Masulipatam snuff is made), in the delta of the Godavery, in Guzerat, near Chinsurah, Bengal, at Sandoway in Arracan, and at other places. The Court of Directors procured from America the best seed from Maryland and Virginia, which has thriven well. Tobacco requires a fertile and well-manured soil. The best fields at Sandoway, Arracan, show on analysis—iron (peroxyde), 15·65; saline matter, 1·10; vegetable fibre, 3·75; silice, 76·90; alumina, 2; water and loss, 60 = 100. *Flax and Hemp* are furnished by India in larger varieties than from any other country in the world. The *sun*, properly cured and dressed, is equal to Russian hemp; other varieties are superior, as they bear a strain of 200 to 400 lbs.; while that of St. Petersburg breaks at 160 to 200 lbs.; the *kote-kangra* of the Punjab is equal to 400 lbs.; *jute* is also excellent; the *khair*, made from cocoa-nut husk fibres, is used principally for maritime purposes, as the specific gravity is lighter than sea-water, in which it does not decay like hemp. Any amount of plants adapted for cordage, coarse cloths, and the manufacture of paper (for which latter there is a greatly increasing demand throughout the civilised world), are procurable in India. *Linseed* was only recently known to abound in India, and is now shipped annually to the extent of many thousand tons. The greater part of the oil-cake used for fattening cattle in Britain is derived from the fields of Hindoostan. *Salt* is supplied in Bengal by evaporating the water of the Ganges, near its mouth, and by boiling the sea-water at different parts of the Bay of Bengal; at Bombay and Madras, solar evaporation is used. This indispensable condiment is found pure in different parts of the interior; the Sambhur Lake, in Rajpootana, supplies it in crystals of a clear and fine flavour, when the water dries up during the hot season. The Punjab contributes a quantity of rock-salt, from a range of hills which crosses due west the Sinde-Saugor Dooab; it is found cropping out in all directions, or else in strata commencing near the surface, and extending downwards in deep and apparently inexhaustible fecundity. The mineral, which requires no preparatory process but pounding, can be excavated and brought to the mouth of the mine for two annas (three-pence) the maund (80 lbs.); it is of excellent flavour and purity,—of transparent brilliancy and solid consistency; when, as is sometimes the case, veins of iron lie adjacent to the saline strata, it assumes a reddish hue. In this latter respect the salt of the cis-Indus portion of the range differs from that obtained in the trans-Indus section. Common bay-salt is made in many adjacent localities, and in all parts of the country the ground is occasionally impregnated with a saline efflorescence resembling saltpetre. In the Alpine principality of Mundeel an impure salt is produced, but it is strongly mixed with earthy ingredients. In Sinde, a coarse kind of salt is everywhere procurable in large quantities; some ship-loads have been sent to Bengal, and sold well. *Saltpetre* (nitre) is derived from the soil of Bengal, Oude, and other places; the average quantity annually exported is about 20,000 tons. Sulphate of soda (glauber-salts), is found near Cawnpore; carbonate of soda, at Sultanpore, Ghazee-poor, and Tirthoot; and other salines are procurable, in various places, to any required extent. *Rice*,—widely grown in Bengal, Bahar, Arracan, Assam, Sinde, and other low districts,

western hemisphere. The tariff of India offers no impediment to the development of such barter: internal peace prevails, there are no transit duties, land and labour abounds; but capital and skill are wanting. How these are to be supplied,—how Britain is to be rendered independent of Russia or of the United States for commercial staples,—how such great advantages are to be secured,—how India is to be restored to a splendour and prosperity greater than ever before experienced,—I am not called on to detail. Let it suffice for me to indicate the good to be sought, and desire earnestly its successful attainment.

and also at elevations of 3,000 to 5,000 feet along the Himalayas and other places, without irrigation, where the dampness of the summer months compensates for artificial moisture. Bengal and Patna rice are now, by care and skill, equal to that of Carolina, though the grain is not so large; that from Arracan and Moulmein is coming extensively into use. Pegu will also probably furnish considerable supplies. *Wheat*, from time immemorial, has been a staple crop on the plains of Northern India, in the Punjab, Nepal, and other places. The soil is well fitted for this cereal, but owing to defective cultivation, the crops are not good: it is, however, the main food of many millions in Hindoostan; and yet, a few years since, when I placed a small sack of excellent Indian wheat on the table of the Court of Proprietors of the E. I. House, while urging its admission into England at a low rate of duty, it was viewed with astonishment, it being generally supposed that rice was the only grain in the East. *Oils*,—that expressed from the cocoa-nut is the most valuable, especially since it has been converted into candles. This graceful palm thrives best on the sea-coast, the more so if its roots reach the saline mud, when it bears abundantly at the fourth year, and continues to do so for nearly 100 years, when it attains a height of about 80 feet. The planting of the cocoa-nut is considered a meritorious duty. *Castor-oil* is extensively prepared for burning in lamps, as well as for medicinal purposes. *Rose oil* (*attar of roses*) is produced chiefly at Ghazee-poor on the Ganges, where hundreds of acres are occupied with this fragrant shrub, whose scent, when in blossom, is wafted along the river a distance of seven miles. Forty pounds of rose-leaves in 60 lbs. of water, distilled over a slow fire, gives 30 lbs. of rose-water, which, when exposed to the cold night air, is found in the morning to have a thin oleaginous film on the surface. About 20,000 roses = 80 lbs. weight, yields, at the utmost, an ounce and a-half of attar, which costs at Ghazee-poor 40 rupees (£4). Purity tested by the quick evaporation of a drop on a piece of paper, which should not be stained by the oil. *Opium*,—this pernicious drug is extensively prepared in Bahar (Patna) and Malwa. The cultivation of the poppy (from whose capsule the poisonous narcotic is obtained) began to attract attention in 1786; the trade was fostered as a means of obtaining a public revenue, there being a great demand in China, where its use has rapidly increased within the last forty years, and hastened the decay of the Tartar government of that vast country. The Patna drug is procured by the Anglo-Indian government making advances of money to the cultivators, and stipulating for a certain amount at a fixed price; that of Malwa yields a revenue by transit-permits on its passage to Bombay. The revenue to the state, from both these sources, is upwards of five million sterling. Among the timber woods may be mentioned—teak, sandal-wood, mango, banian, dhak, babool, different kinds of oak, pine, holly, maple, plane, ash, horse-chestnut, juniper, deodar or Himalayan cedar, fir, sál, sissoo, peon, michelia, syzygium, arbutus, bay, acacia, beech, chestnut, alnus, sappan-wood, cassia, toon, cedar, laurel (four to six feet in diameter), mulberry, willow, tulip-tree, indigo-tree, bamboo, and a variety of other timber adapted for ship and house-building. In the Madras Presidency alone there are upwards of a hundred different kinds of timber, and about 500 specimens have been collected from Nepal and the Ultra-Gangetic country,

SUMMARY.

IN the preceding pages an endeavour has been made to trace the history of India during a period of above 2,000 years—that is, from the time of Alexander's invasion of the frontier to the middle of the nineteenth century;—to show the rise and progress of Mussulman and Mogul power since the eleventh century, and the strife, sensuality, and misgovernment which caused and attended its downfall;—to narrate the successive struggles for dominion of Portugal, Spain, Holland, France, and England;—and lastly, to describe the singular train of events which marked the gradual transition of a trading association into a warlike state, holding imperial sway over nearly a fifth of the human race. So far as space would permit, the author has also striven to depict the leading physical as well as political features of India;—its mountain chains and plateaux, rivers, coasts, and cities; its diversified geological characteristics and variety of climate;—the number, distribution, and peculiarities of its population;—the state of religion, and statistics of crime;—the existing forms of civil government and of the military establishments;—the amount and disbursement of the public revenue;—the value of trade, the extent of shipping, and the varied commercial products;—the position of the remaining protected, tributary, and feudatory native principalities;—the general advancement of secular education and the newspaper press; together with the sounder and more elevating instruction imparted by Christian missions.

The important and difficult question of the social condition of the people of India cannot here be discussed; indeed, it is doubtful whether sufficient materials have been collected for its elucidation. The formidable barriers of language, customs, and creed, still exclude the masters of India from the intimate knowledge of the inner life of the Hindoos, which it is alike their duty and their interest to acquire. It is difficult for English functionaries in

India, much more at home, to realise this fact; so many brilliant reputations have been deservedly acquired, that we are apt to forget how much *terra incognita* still remains to be explored in British India. The pioneering work is only partially accomplished; yet enough has been done to prove that the labours of the scholar, the practical statesman, and the Christian philanthropist, are all—especially the latter—required to promote the welfare of the vast population of Hindoostan, as manifestly as the parched soil of a drought-stricken land needs fertilising rain. It must be remembered, however, that we are as yet little more than encamped in India in the proportion of one Briton to 3,800 Hindoos;* and that a century of struggle for position, of strife for mastery, has left few intervals of breathing-time, and but scanty funds, for the accomplishment of any other object than the establishment and consolidation of political supremacy.

It has pleased Providence that our dominion should be established through the instrumentality of the natives, continuously exerted since the time when the little band of sepoy stood beside Clive at Arcot, declaring themselves content to receive the water that the rice was boiled in, and give up the grain for the sustenance of their European fellow-soldiers, until our latest battles, when Rajpoots and Mahrattas, Patans, Seiks, and Goorkas fought in strange association beneath our banners, bound by the common tie of fidelity to their "salt." The superstitious Hindoo has thrown aside the shackles of caste, and crossed the dreaded "black water;" on the arid sands of Egypt, and the sickly coasts of China,—amid the snows of Afghanistan, and the swamps of Burmah,—in the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean;—wherever the interests of Britain called, the sepoy has freely risked, and often sacrificed, life itself, in fulfilling the behests of his chiefs. The growth and organisation of the Anglo-In-

* The European military force in India, of all ranks, is about 50,000; the covenanted and uncovenanted European civilians, about 1,000; the British residents, not in the service of the Queen or the E. I. Co., engaged as merchants, bankers, traders, shopkeepers, indigo, cotton, and sugar-planter,

agents, &c., are estimated at—males, 5,729; females, 4,271 = 10,000, exclusive of the wives and families of civil and military servants, who number probably 4,000; showing a total of 65,000 of the governing class to about 200,000,000 natives, directly or indirectly beneath our sway or influence.

dian army are no less marvellous than the results which it has achieved: and if the civil government be less perfect in its construction, less homogenous in its details, allowance must be made for our imperfect acquaintance with the wants of the people, and the necessity of introducing great changes slowly, and, if possible, with the free consent of those affected by them. The authority now exercised by England over India has been obtained by various means, among which the sword no doubt has played a leading part; yet, with few exceptions, the contest has been not with the Indian population, but with foreign usurpers, who now, pensioned by their conquerors, constitute the leading nobility of Hindoostan. The mass of the population have benefited by the change. Various charges of omission and of commission may be adduced against the Anglo-Indian government; but every decade of the last fifty years has carried with it labours calculated to obliterate the reproach of Burke, in his day, that if our power were on the instant annihilated, it would be difficult to tell whether the English or tigers had dwelt in the land. The sarcasm would be pointless now: even then its exaggeration weakened its force. A hundred years ago, when Dupleix espoused the cause of Chunda Sahib, and the English supported the claims of the rival candidate (Mohammed Ali), the strife and anarchy which desolated the Carnatic was not peculiar to that country, but prevailed over the length and breadth of India. It was no single struggle of race or creed; for Mussulman fought against Mussulman, Hindoo against Hindoo, and each against the other; Afghan warred with Mogul, Mogul with Rajpoot; Mahratta with all. The hand of every man was raised against his neighbour: the peasant went armed to the plough, the shepherd stood ready to defend his flock with his life; for the Pindarry, Dacoity, and Thug—the trained marauder, the thief and assassin, pursued their murderous avocations in the light of noon-day and in the depth of midnight.

The supremacy of the Great Mogul had become a mere fiction. The decay of the empire originated from within, and scarcely needed the hastening influence of unfaithful servants and external foes. Yet these were not wanting. Aurungzebe, the ablest and most powerful of his race, not content with dominion far exceeding that swayed by the greatest of his predecessors, thirsted so im-

patiently for conquest, that he suffered his power in Northern India to crumble into ruins, while engaged in the destruction of the independent Mohammedan kingdoms in the Southern Peninsula, which formed his safest barrier against the inroads of the predatory hordes of Sevajee. The bigoted Mogul demolished Beejapoor and Goleonda; and the hated and despised Mahrattas grew strong upon the spoil, and hunted the conqueror to the death. Usurping viceroys, and adventurers of all creeds and complexions, disputed over the wreck of the empire; while Nadir Shah and Ahmed (the robber kings of Persia and Afghanistan) swooped down like vultures, to secure their share of the carcass, and pillage a country they did not attempt to govern.

Under such circumstances, the representatives of the E. I. Cy. could not view without anxiety the precarious position in which they stood, exposed to the caprice of every new ruler; much less could they be expected to witness without opposing, the rapid aggrandisement of a hostile European power. There was no native state of undoubted strength and integrity under whose banner they could confidently seek protection; from England, and from England only, could come the support necessary to hold their ground against European rivalry. The struggle with France involved the assumption of a position in which neutrality became impossible: the choice lay between complete retirement or the maintenance of that commanding attitude which has proved the keystone of our power in India, and, it may be, in Europe also. The importance of the earliest offensive operations of the Bengal Presidency was seen and dreaded by the E. I. Cy., who, except during the sway of the brothers Child, sincerely deprecated warlike proceedings as calculated to impede their commercial dealings. This feeling was natural; for the absolutely disorganised state of the country was then only very imperfectly understood. Warren Hastings, perhaps, first fully appreciated the important position occupied by the English; but he dared not act up to his convictions, and persistently sought the immediate gains of his employers to the neglect of their permanent interests. The Marquis Wellesley suffered no personal considerations to bias his judgment or warp his integrity; but, deeply impressed with the duties and responsibilities of the Anglo-Indian government as a paramount power, he directed all the

energies of his mind to its establishment and consolidation. His views were for a time repudiated; and the efforts of some selfish, and other good but prejudiced men, prevailed for the temporary adoption of a system of neutrality which placed our weaker neighbours and sworn allies at the mercy of their incensed foes. This delusion passed away: and at the present epoch few persons will care to dispute Lord Wellesley's dictum concerning the maintenance of supremacy in India. The subsidiary system, with other measures adapted to the exigencies of the critical period during which he bore sway, must be viewed simply as means to an end. That end has been carried out by the labours of successive governors; and the close of Lord Dalhousie's administration is marked by the grateful intelligence, brought by the last mail, that "India is tranquil throughout."* Even the anarchy which more or less pervades the states still partially subject to native rulers—such as the territories of the King of Oude, the Nizam of Hyderabad, and the Guicowar of Baroda—is temporarily abated, and a degree of peace heretofore unknown prevails throughout the fairest and richest part of Asia, over an area of 1,500,000 square miles, inhabited by about 200,000,000 human beings, who enjoy an immunity from the horrors of war which Christian Europe may well envy.

The cessation of internal strife has been accompanied by many internal reforms; such as the abolition of infanticide, and *suttee*, or widow-burning; the extirpation of the horrible Thuggee or Phansigar system, and the material diminution of the ancient and too common practice of *dacoity*, or gang-robbery; the sensible mitigation of

domestic slavery; and the amelioration of the criminal code, by the abolition of mutilation and torture. The security for life and property which now prevails, from Peshawur to Cape Comorin, from Afghanistan to Burmah, is doubtless to some extent attributable to the admirable organisation of the army, the efficiency of which consists in its discipline far more than in its magnitude. The Anglo-Indian empire is no military despotism, imposed at the point of the bayonet, and upheld by the same means; its permanent force is not a tenth part so large, in proportion to its population, as that maintained by France, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and other European states. There are about 3,000,000 men in arms in Europe out of 250,000,000 people, or one soldier to every eighty-three civilians; while in India the proportion is as one in 600, the total number of troops being only 330,000 (including 50,000 Europeans), and the population reaching 200,000,000. Could an estimate be framed of the troops formerly maintained by the various native states now included in British India, there can be little question that the list of fighting men would be found to have largely diminished, and the numbers of mechanics and cultivators to have increased in a similar degree.

The progress of public works attests the favourable change effected when the resources of a country are freed from the heavy drain and depressing influence of war, and directed, even partially, to national undertakings and local improvements.

Perfect freedom of internal commercial intercourse has been bestowed by the abolition of long-established fiscal transit duties. Roads and bridges,† railways and canals,

* By the *Indian Mail*, Oct., 1855.

† It is difficult, during periods of war, to find money and time for public improvements; and those which have been accomplished are spread over such an immense extent of country as not to be very conspicuous. In fifteen years—from 1837-'8 to 1851-'2—the direct expenditure on roads, bridges, and works of irrigation, has been £4,500,000, irrespective of £30,000 per ann. supplied by convict labour; altogether, about £5,000,000. This is independent of works under the control of local committees, the cost of which is defrayed from ferry receipts, tolls, and other sources. Three great trunk roads are in progress:—1st. From Calcutta to Peshawur, 1,423 miles, *viâ* Benares, Agra, Delhi, and Lahore; the outlay from Calcutta to Delhi, 887 miles, has already been £820,000 (exclusive of convict labour), or nearly £1,000 per m., including bridges: the road is metalled throughout: charge of keeping it in repair, £35 per m. = £50,000 per ann. 2nd. Mail-road from Calcutta to Bombay, *viâ* Sumbulpoor, Nagpoor,

Ahmednugger, and Poona, 1,170 m.: this road was planned in 1840, and the cost estimated at £500,000, or £500 per m. 3rd. Road from Bombay to Agra, *viâ* Sindwa, Akberpoor, and Indore, 734 m.: commenced in 1840; expenditure, £330 per m. The length of these three main roads is 3,159 m.; first cost, £2,166,673; and the annual repairs, £90,000. In the Punjab several roads have been ordered, and an expenditure of £50,000 a-year for this purpose sanctioned by the home authorities. The system of railway communication in progress throughout India, will probably effect a wonderful moral as well as physical improvement in the country. It is proposed to connect Calcutta with Peshawur by Delhi; Madras with Bombay; and Bombay with Agra. Portions of the respective lines have been opened at each presidency, and the natives have thronged the carriages. The Anglo-Indian government has acted in a munificent spirit by granting the land required, and guaranteeing five per cent. interest per ann. for the capital employed, under certain favourable conditions.

river and coast steam navigation,* afford facilities for locomotion hitherto unknown. Various structures, such as tanks, aqueducts, and embankments for irrigation,† with improved governmental buildings, are being erected in different provinces; and the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay are connected by an electric telegraph,‡ which flashes intelligence along its wires in a single day, from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya. A trigonometrical survey of India, which has been in progress above half a century, has already cost more than £500,000 sterling, and is completed to a greater extent than any similar scientific measurement throughout the globe.§

Low custom duties (recently reduced), both on imports and exports, enable the people of India to buy and sell in the best

* Various public works have been constructed in Sind; the Kurachee mole and road have cost £30,961. The government has stationed steam-vessels on the Indus for the conveyance of goods and passengers from Kurachee to Mooltan, and propose extending the line to Kalabagh on the Indus, and to Jhelum. Government steam-vessels have been established on the Ganges, and considerable sums expended on the removal of obstacles to navigation below Allahabad. The Manaar Gulf, between Cape Comorin and Ceylon, has been surveyed at a cost of £24,625; and the Paumban Passage, between Ceylon and the main land, has had a practicable channel opened by an expenditure of £16,394. Several undertakings (not intended for government purposes) have received aid from the public treasury: such as plantations and farms for extending the culture of cotton, tea, &c.; establishments for improving the breed of animals; docks, and other objects of maritime utility.

† The volume of water available for irrigation which flows from the Himalaya mountains during the dry season, has been estimated at 24,120 cubic feet per second; Ganges, 6,700; Jumna, 2,870; Ravee, 3,000; Chenab, 5,000; Sutlej at Roopur, 2,500; Jhelum, 4,000: each cubic foot, per second, will irrigate 218 acres; and efforts are now being made to prevent the waste of this treasure. The whole stream of the Jumna has been directed from the main channel into two canals, east and west; the latter measuring, with its branches, 425; the former, 155 = 580 m. The great undertaking—now completed, and termed the Ganges Canal—has for its object the irrigation of a large portion of the N. W. Provinces: it is 810 m. long, including branches, and has been constructed on a slightly elevated ridge of land which lies along the Doab (or country between the Ganges and the Jumna), from Hurdwar to Allyghur, where it diverges into two channels, one proceeding to Cawnpore, the other to Humeerpoor and Etawa, with three offsets—Hurdwar to Allyghur, 180; thence to Cawnpore, 170; Allyghur to Humeerpoor, 180; branch to Futtehghur, 170; to Bolundshuhur, 60; to Coel, 50 = 810. The cost is about one million and a-half sterling. In the Punjab, the Ravee canal will proceed from the canal head of the Ravee river to Deena-nuggur, and there

markets. Bi-monthly communication is carried on with England *via* the Red Sea and Egypt, each voyage averaging thirty days. Small and uniform postage rates, with the total absence of any passport system, accelerate social as well as mercantile intercourse. The right of residence in any part of India, devoid of license or restraint, has been granted to every Englishman. Perfect freedom has been conceded to an unstamped newspaper press; and the privilege of public meeting and discussion accorded, to an extent unknown in continental Europe. Every form of religion is tolerated; the ban which existed on Christianity has been removed; and no disqualifications for office exist, to men of any creed, colour, or caste, but those of ignorance, incompetence, or crime.

To advance the moral improvement of throw off a branch to the eastward; while the main channel, taking a southerly direction, is to send another branch to the westward. Lahore and Amritsir will be supplied by minor channels: the expense not yet ascertained; £500,000 have been sanctioned. Several works to promote irrigation are in operation. The *Cauvery* 'anicut' (dam thrown across the river to bank up its waters) has cost about £50,000; a like sum has been sanctioned for the *Godavery* anicut; and £150,000 for works on the *Kistna* river.

‡ The practical application of science is working wonders in the sight of the Indian population; the "fire-horse" (steam-engine) surprised, but the darting of intelligence by lightning has astounded them; they behold with utter bewilderment the electric wires connecting points 3,500 miles apart. The telegraphic works were confided by Lord Dalhousie to Dr. O'Shaughnessy. It is to be hoped that this marvellous mode of communication will, ere long, bring India and England into daily intercourse: the route might be from Kurachee to Bussorah, along the shores of the Persian Gulf, 1,400 m.; thence to Bagdad, 300; to Erzeroum, 500; to Sinope *via* Trebizond, 350; and to Constantinople, 300 = 2,850 miles English. The cost of construction in India has been about £40 per m.; allow £50 for the overland communication = £142,500. Say the expenditure were twice that sum, and the money would be well spent.

§ An arc of the meridian, 1,400 m. in length, has been measured with great care and precision: it extends from Cape Comorin to the sub-Himalayan mountains, and was completed in 1840. The various elevations, the river courses, and the positions of every place have been accurately laid down in a magnificent Atlas of India, now in progress of engraving by Messrs. Walker, upon a scale of four m. to the inch. Of this great work, comprising 177 maps, each 3 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. 1 in., a large portion has been already executed; when finished, it will be a noble contribution to geographical science. Minute territorial surveys, based on triangular admeasurement, are now being made in each presidency for land revenue settlements; that of the N. W. Provinces has been completed at the following cost: revenue survey, £235,655; revenue settlement, £337,069 = £572,669.

the people, schools and colleges have been formed, and systematic education has become an essential part of state policy. A supreme Legislative Council has been established, with representatives from each presidency, whose deliberations are carried on *aperiis foribus*, subject to the freest animadversion or comments of the local journals; and there is no repressive tendency,—but, on the contrary, encouragement, for the advancement of liberal institutions.

In England, the high prizes of civil office have been thrown open to general competition: genius, intelligence, and industry are invited to enter into the service of the government of India, the proceedings of which are no longer recorded in a closed book, examined only at intervals of twenty years, but subject to the annual revision of the British parliament, who have power to redress as well as denounce injustice, and to replace wrong measures with right ones.

It remains to notice the means by which England has become possessed of the brightest jewel in her crown,—the Koh-i-Noor of her maritime possessions. History records many great results as being developed from small beginnings; but surely none much more surprising than that the successors of the struggling band of merchants whose enterprise Elizabeth cherished with the grant of a charter, should, in their original capacity of traders, after passing through a fierce ordeal of financial difficulties, have been carried away by the energy of their representatives, until they found themselves, almost in their own despite, transformed from buyers and sellers into the arbiters of the destinies of men of many nations and tongues,—the wielders of a sceptre far more extensive than that of the Mogul empire in its palmiest days,—the undisputed masters of a prize for which, in past ages, Cæsar sighed, Alexander fought, and, in modern times, Portugal and Spain, Holland and France, have been unsuccessful candidates.

Whatever may be the public feeling towards trading associations in the present epoch, and however deeply grounded the views entertained against every remnant of monopoly, it would be ingratitude in the nation or the Crown to overlook or set aside the obligations incurred to the E. I. Co. It is true their leading conquests were all achieved with the aid of the national troops, but the expense has fallen exclusively on the revenues obtained by the company from their Indian territories. At

its commencement, the distant Asiatic trade could be carried on with a reasonable prospect of success only in two ways—namely, by the government, or by a chartered association, encouraged by the concession of exclusive privileges, to make a large immediate outlay, and risk heavy loss for the chance of proportionate gains.

The experience of various continental nations has demonstrated that Elizabeth and her successors acted wisely in resigning the arduous enterprise into the hands of the persons immediately interested in its results; and they have proved themselves, through ensuing generations, well fitted to uphold the political interests of the nation while following their mercantile pursuits. In developing the indigo, silk, cotton, and other branches of Indian trade, they created a class of mercantile shipping which has in no small degree contributed to establish the maritime supremacy of England; while their growing hold on India, to the exclusion of other powers, has been scarcely less effective in establishing the high rank of the British isles among contemporary nations. It is not in war only that reputation is strength; in peace it is the best security for the continuance of power: and whatever may be the opinion of statesmen at home, it is indubitable that abroad the admiration and respect so widely entertained for England, is conceded to her as the greatest of colonising nations and the mistress of India.

Great Britain may well be proud of an organised body whose enterprise has been attended with such brilliant and useful results, while similar associations, in other countries, although powerfully aided by their respective governments, have been almost invariably attended with failure. Let a comparison be drawn between the occupation of British India, and the invasions of the Spaniards in South America, or the Portuguese in different countries;—with the French in Algeria, or the various gold-seeking and colonising operations prosecuted in America, the West Indies, Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and other places where the aborigines have been extirpated or greatly diminished; and after such an examination, the philanthropist—having made due allowance for the circumstances of the different cases—will probably find abundant reason to rejoice that our proceedings in India were prosecuted under the auspices of a company whose mercantile objects, and subsequent territorial acquisi-

tions, immediately, as well as permanently, associated their interests with the welfare of the native community, even before their chartered privileges were merged in the controlling and co-operative authority of the ministers of the Crown.

Whatever be the theoretical objections to the past system, it has practically worked well; and however anomalous the conjoint or double rule, it is far preferable to the mode in which the wide-spread colonies of the Crown are now governed by a single secretary of state, changing with the political wheel of fortune twice or even thrice a year; so that the ink may be scarcely dry on one authoritative missive, before another, of counter-tendency, be dispatched by a new functionary. In India the domestic government has been slowly but effectively organised with forethought and care; and the directing power in London is enabled to act unbiassed by political partisanship, or by the national caprices which more or less sway the British cabinet.

Before closing this volume, it may not be supererogatory to advert briefly to some of the advantages derivable by England from the possession of India; although it is difficult to appreciate aright a subject so intimately interwoven with the various phases of social life and public weal. India has been no burden on the British exchequer,—quite the contrary; the latter is largely indebted to the former. The Egyptian expedition (in 1801), the Java and Mauritius conquests, the China war, and other undertakings—all required heavy advances from the Bengal treasury, which were never entirely liquidated. Thirty thousand of the Queen's infantry and cavalry, and 250,000 native troops, though paid from the Indian revenues, are available for the service of the whole empire; as is also the case with a small but well-organised armed marine.

The money which England has received from India during the last seventy years, is almost incalculable. If the remittances be taken at £3,000,000 sterling per annum for the last fifty years, they amount, at the Indian rate of interest, to a sum exceeding our national debt; and the capital thus abstracted is never replaced, but has its fructification here. Indeed, there is scarcely a county in the United Kingdom but has had the value of its landed property increased by investments of fortunes, the reward of civil or military services, or of commercial success in the East. Turning to a less

tangible but no less important consideration,—how many British statesmen and commanders have had their genius elicited, or their talents improved, in the wide arena of thought and action which Hindoostan affords? A noble field has been annually opened for the enterprising sons of the middle classes, and an expansive tone given to society by the constant discussion of great subjects. Then again, the merchant and the manufacturer know the value of a large, increasing, and lucrative market, devoid of high or hostile tariffs, with an almost unlimited quantity of the raw commodities, the certain supply of which is so essential to the steady employment of our operatives; while both imports and exports furnish profitable employment to the best class of mercantile shipping. Thus England has, in various ways, derived immense benefits from her dominions in Asia.

If, however, past experience and present evidence be rejected, and the national will unhappily accord with the fallacious and unsubstantiated assertions promulgated by a leading exponent of public opinion—that transmarine possessions “are no accession of power or wealth to a country, but rather a burden, a risk, and an expense,”*—it follows that the arguments above adduced are futile in the sight of the majority, who deplore, rather than rejoice in, the acquisition of the vast domains of the Crown: and the minority, who do not share these opinions, may lament the fatuity of an age in which Englishmen are unable to appreciate the enduring efforts, the heroic patriotism, the self-sacrifice, which enabled their ancestors, throughout two generations of strife, anxiety, and peril, to construct the most wonderful oceanic empire that ever existed.

But if this acknowledgment of decadence, by the abandonment of territorial acquisitions, be not generally desired,—if the birthright inherited be deemed a prize of great value, and a conviction be felt that the Giver of all power bestows on His responsible agents many attendant blessings,—then, indeed, the nation may well rejoice at the opportunity vouchsafed for the extension of Christian civilisation among heathen multitudes; and may confidently rely on the aid of the Supreme Governor of the world, in the fulfilment of the duties inseparably connected with her commanding position among the kingdoms of the earth.

* *Times'* editorial article, 27th August, 1855, referring to alliance between England and France.

APPENDIX.

Statistical Return of Land Revenue, Area, and Population in

Division.	Districts.	Number of Mou- zahs or town- ships.	Arcainsq. British Statute miles of 640 acres each.	Area in Acres.	Malgoozarce or assessed land.		Minhace or unas- sessed land.		Demand on act. of land re- venue 1851-'52, in Rs.	Rate per acre on Total area.
					Cultivated Acres.	Culturable Acres.	Lakhiraj Acres.	Barren Acres.		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
DELHI.	Paneeput - - - -	538	1,269.9	812,745	407,051	261,747	19,398	124,549	827,123	1 0 3
	Ilissar - - - - -	653	3,294.2	2,108,279	988,923	864,099	85,528	169,729	465,760	0 3 6
	Delhi - - - - -	568	789.7	505,320	263,208	76,585	91,402	74,125	456,487	0 14 5
	Rohtuck - - - -	300	1,340.4	857,885	641,792	147,183	22,730	46,180	631,132	0 11 9
	Goorgaon - - - -	1,274	1,939.1	1,241,017	895,940	168,428	16,352	160,297	1,047,231	0 13 6
	Total - - - - -	3,333	8,633.3	5,525,246	3,196,914	1,518,042	235,410	574,880	3,427,736	0 9 11
MEERUT.	Saharanpoor - - -	1,904	2,162.3	1,383,898	774,253	211,449	54,597	343,599	1,064,513	0 12 4
	Moozuffernugger -	1,138	1,646.3	1,053,641	670,468	153,173	76,287	153,713	1,107,538	1 0 10
	Meerut - - - - -	1,638	2,200.1	1,408,063	907,758	236,021	82,028	182,256	1,693,046	1 3 3
	Boolundshahur - -	1,576	1,823.6	1,167,094	715,587	143,260	88,036	220,211	1,056,835	0 14 6
	Allyghur - - - -	1,997	2,153.4	1,378,204	961,076	77,725	41,070	298,333	1,985,136	1 7 1
	Total - - - - -	8,253	9,985.7	6,390,900	4,029,142	821,628	342,018	1,198,112	6,907,068	1 1 0
ROHLKUND.	Bijnore - - - - -	3,030	1,900.0	1,216,005	590,622	175,553	42,626	407,204	1,197,695	0 13 9
	Moradabad - - - -	3,484	2,698.8	1,727,216	839,919	308,851	256,086	322,360	1,340,312	0 12 5
	Budaon - - - - -	2,232	2,401.9	1,537,191	928,299	286,055	69,734	253,103	1,097,329	0 11 5
	Bareilly - - - - -	3,563	3,119.1	1,996,224	1,056,961	394,810	83,630	460,823	1,769,610	0 14 2
	Shahjehanpoor - -	2,785	2,308.4	1,477,359	716,201	453,032	33,067	275,059	1,060,318	0 11 9
	Total - - - - -	15,094	12,428.2	7,953,995	4,132,002	1,618,301	485,143	1,718,549	6,465,264	0 13 0
AGRA.	Muttra - - - - -	1,019	1,613.4	1,032,542	733,362	87,224	97,649	114,307	1,657,283	1 9 9
	Agra - - - - -	1,143	1,864.9	1,193,537	747,536	118,104	84,460	243,437	1,622,980	1 5 9
	Furruckabad - - -	2,017	2,122.9	1,358,685	749,023	178,345	69,985	361,332	1,333,011	0 15 8
	Mynpoory - - - -	1,344	2,020.2	1,292,946	687,098	114,526	8,510	482,812	1,267,079	0 15 8
	Etawah - - - - -	1,495	1,677.0	1,073,276	557,804	59,927	29,143	426,402	1,272,086	1 3 0
	Total - - - - -	7,018	9,298.4	5,950,986	3,474,823	558,126	289,747	1,628,290	7,152,439	1 3 3
ALLAHABAD.	Cawnpoor - - - -	2,257	2,348.0	1,502,699	800,438	149,232	61,992	491,037	2,144,075	1 6 10
	Futtehpoor - - - -	1,617	1,583.1	1,013,171	509,793	131,895	9,417	362,066	1,426,205	1 6 6
	Humeerpoor - - - -	997	2,241.6	1,434,651	770,254	316,504	14,531	333,362	1,277,864	0 14 3
	Banda - - - - -	1,257	3,009.6	1,926,112	846,831	561,281	82,934	435,066	1,591,377	0 13 3
	Allahabad - - - -	4,003	2,788.7	1,784,780	971,558	247,255	28,240	537,727	2,141,221	1 3 2
	Total - - - - -	10,131	11,971.0	7,661,413	3,898,874	1,406,167	197,114	2,159,258	8,580,742	1 1 11
BENARES.	Goruckpoor - - - -	15,714	7,340.2	4,697,706	2,232,901	1,268,024	160,732	1,036,049	2,133,931	0 7 3
	Azimgurh - - - - -	6,270	2,516.4	1,610,498	798,707	213,729	41,027	557,035	1,489,619	0 14 10
	Jounpoor - - - - -	3,431	1,552.2	993,383	573,616	58,121	23,497	338,149	1,254,095	1 4 2
	Mirzapoor - - - -	5,280	5,152.3	3,297,472	768,296	293,394	1,421,412	814,370	839,732	0 4 1
	Benares - - - - -	2,296	995.5	637,107	420,069	35,791	29,571	151,676	903,358	1 6 8
	Ghazeepoor - - - -	5,088	2,181.0	1,395,808	924,884	151,168	41,532	278,224	1,500,426	1 1 2
	Total - - - - -	38,079	19,737.6	12,631,974	5,718,473	2,020,227	1,717,771	3,175,503	8,121,161	0 10 3
Grand Total -		81,908	72,064.2	46,114,514	24,450,228	7,942,491	3,267,203	10,454,592	40,654,410	0 14 1

APPENDIX.

the Districts of the North Western Provinces, prepared in 1852-'53.

Rate per acre on Total Malgoza- ree.		Rate per acre on Total Cultiva- tion.		POPULATION.										No. of persons to each sq. British Statute mile of 640 acres each.	Number of acres to each person.	
				Hindoos.				Mohammedan and others not Hindoo.								
				Agricultural.		Non-Agricultural.		Agricultural.		Non-Agricultural.						Total.
				Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.					
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24				
1 3 9	2 0 6	94,360	73,397	49,252	38,802	20,111	16,869	51,643	44,351	389,085	306	2-09				
0 4 0	0 7 6	113,974	93,170	23,555	17,207	33,638	28,189	12,044	9,075	330,852	100	6-37				
1 5 6	1 11 9	93,963	77,731	78,912	65,459	10,036	8,881	52,292	48,470	435,744	552	1-16				
0 12 10	0 15 9	117,168	102,275	61,770	50,610	11,890	12,059	11,451	9,790	377,013	281	2-27				
0 15 9	1 2 8	174,457	147,726	73,138	65,453	85,314	73,057	22,107	21,234	662,486	342	1-87				
0 11 8	1 1 2	593,922	494,299	286,627	237,531	161,289	139,055	149,537	132,920	2,195,180	254	2-52				
1 1 3	1 6 0	155,176	109,146	165,789	125,829	53,281	44,833	79,840	67,431	801,325	370	1-73				
1 5 6	1 10 10	135,478	105,768	133,273	115,652	44,336	39,607	51,672	47,075	672,861	409	1-56				
1 7 8	1 13 10	237,105	190,680	245,814	211,639	43,996	38,354	88,386	79,098	1,135,072	516	1-24				
1 3 8	1 7 8	182,783	152,925	154,520	143,468	24,512	23,259	49,164	47,711	778,342	427	1-50				
1 14 7	2 1 1	273,368	229,145	269,663	241,198	15,475	14,047	47,369	44,300	1,134,565	527	1-21				
1 6 9	1 11 5	983,910	787,664	969,059	837,786	181,600	160,100	316,431	285,615	4,522,165	453	1-41				
1 9 0	2 3 2	126,819	98,796	128,377	110,802	25,613	22,811	96,425	85,878	695,521	366	1-75				
1 2 8	1 9 6	273,881	228,450	139,417	124,246	95,925	86,842	97,249	92,451	1,138,461	422	1-52				
0 14 6	1 2 11	386,097	321,094	92,372	77,946	40,792	36,678	33,674	30,508	1,019,161	424	1-51				
1 3 6	1 10 9	462,647	398,764	110,757	97,169	75,540	67,921	84,481	80,989	1,378,268	442	1-45				
0 14 6	1 7 8	380,372	317,803	85,589	74,768	27,434	25,099	36,354	38,677	986,096	427	1-50				
1 2 0	1 9 0	1,629,816	1,364,907	556,512	484,931	265,304	239,351	348,183	328,503	5,217,507	419	1-52				
2 0 4	2 4 2	274,285	231,893	152,452	134,329	14,004	11,909	23,226	20,811	862,909	535	1-20				
1 14 0	2 2 9	315,239	256,987	177,098	146,714	13,551	11,521	42,533	38,318	1,001,961	537	1-19				
1 7 0	1 12 6	389,191	306,376	130,824	110,356	24,861	20,747	41,013	41,239	1,064,607	501	1-28				
1 9 3	1 13 6	347,819	271,840	89,684	71,738	10,637	9,456	16,738	14,802	832,714	412	1-55				
2 0 11	2 4 6	225,376	175,991	96,249	80,542	4,843	4,484	12,166	11,314	610,965	364	1-76				
1 12 4	2 0 1	1,551,910	1,243,087	646,307	543,679	67,896	58,117	135,676	126,484	4,373,156	465	1-36				
2 4 1	2 10 10	361,396	316,720	213,925	193,091	10,158	9,732	36,614	32,920	1,174,556	500	1-28				
2 3 7	2 12 9	195,857	168,302	127,106	121,172	14,435	13,571	19,904	19,440	679,787	428	1-49				
1 2 10	1 10 7	205,018	175,086	67,863	60,618	7,595	7,084	13,102	12,238	548,604	245	2-61				
1 2 1	1 14 1	258,153	232,162	105,835	97,541	11,872	11,175	14,298	12,836	743,872	247	2-59				
1 12 1	2 3 3	421,873	375,459	208,282	194,313	33,454	31,857	59,189	55,361	1,379,788	495	1-29				
1 9 11	2 3 3	1,442,297	1,267,729	723,011	666,735	77,514	73,419	143,107	132,795	4,526,607	378	1-69				
0 9 9	0 15 3	1,184,954	1,082,559	236,681	212,581	136,121	126,012	57,234	51,732	3,087,874	421	1-52				
1 7 6	1 13 10	646,984	552,356	120,288	107,502	54,922	50,781	62,940	57,678	1,653,251	657	-97				
1 15 9	2 3 0	442,429	378,734	108,690	101,735	22,356	20,992	31,732	34,081	1,143,749	737	-87				
0 12 6	1 1 6	336,134	312,986	193,985	186,793	7,906	7,458	30,724	28,329	1,104,315	214	2-98				
1 15 9	2 2 5	220,243	197,909	181,768	169,196	4,515	4,512	38,252	35,362	851,757	856	-75				
1 6 4	1 9 11	516,593	467,738	231,525	222,229	17,527	17,523	63,218	60,061	1,596,324	732	-87				
1 0 9	1 6 9	3,347,337	2,992,282	1,072,937	999,836	243,347	227,278	287,010	267,243	9,437,270	478	1-34				
1 4 1	1 8 2	9,549,192	8,149,968	4,254,453	3,770,498	996,950	897,320	1,379,941	1,273,560	30,271,885	420	1-52				

Population of the Territories of the Madras Presidency, according to the Census taken in the Revenue Year 1850-'51.

Districts.	Adults.				Children.				Grand Total.			Area in Square Miles.	No. of Persons to each Square Mile.
	Males.		Females.		Males.		Females.		Males.	Females.	Total.		
	Hindoos.	Mahomedans and others.	Hindoos.	Mahomedans and others.	Hindoos.	Mahomedans and others.	Hindoos.	Mahomedans and others.					
1. Ganjam	282,650	1,616	295,110	1,984	190,334	845	153,738	653	475,445	451,485	926,930	6,400	145
2. Vizagapatam	397,463	4,815	411,715	5,425	240,019	3,026	189,393	2,416	645,323	608,949	1,254,272	7,650	164
3. Rajahmundry	322,316	6,726	339,613	7,171	181,872	3,789	147,409	3,140	514,703	497,333	1,012,036	6,050	167
4. Masulipatam	176,167	7,323	166,497	7,639	91,019	4,665	64,083	3,443	279,204	231,662	520,866	5,000	104
5. Guntour	168,461	10,378	168,061	10,586	103,893	7,531	94,227	6,631	279,463	279,505	558,968	4,360	115
6. Nellore	312,213	14,060	294,920	12,946	151,425	7,720	135,476	6,930	485,418	450,272	935,690	7,930	118
7. Bellary	394,108	29,404	374,459	28,619	202,416	17,413	168,203	14,917	643,371	586,228	1,229,599	13,056	94
8. Cuddapah	147,959	29,762	430,283	28,773	261,011	20,389	216,551	17,193	759,121	692,800	1,451,921	12,970	112
9. Chingleput	191,239	6,144	183,917	5,928	102,649	3,673	86,740	3,142	303,705	279,757	583,462	3,020	193
10. North Arcot	465,620	22,361	450,896	24,159	261,060	13,674	236,262	11,841	762,715	723,158	1,485,873	6,800	218
11. South Arcot	359,431	13,637	327,508	12,742	152,293	6,726	127,766	5,902	562,087	473,918	1,036,005	7,610	132
12. Salem	380,945	9,965	383,418	9,962	212,700	6,262	187,013	5,102	609,872	555,495	1,165,367	8,200	146
13. Tanjore	523,970	44,036	642,731	50,407	249,934	23,180	221,556	20,272	841,120	834,966	1,676,086	3,900	430
14. Trichinopoly	184,741	57,390	188,027	57,418	88,425	29,769	76,861	26,565	360,325	348,871	709,196	3,000	236
15. Madras	532,214	53,705	552,737	56,304	268,998	28,206	239,982	24,645	883,123	873,668	1,756,791	10,700	164
16. Tinnevely	361,946	39,785	387,630	45,001	207,188	27,804	176,884	22,978	636,723	632,493	1,269,216	5,700	223
17. Coimbatour	357,473	8,207	381,239	8,637	206,504	4,944	182,698	4,160	577,128	576,734	1,153,862	8,280	139
18. Canara	314,921	31,775	315,383	34,856	171,715	21,358	145,063	18,262	542,769	513,564	1,056,333	7,720	137
19. Malabar	358,361	125,432	371,933	128,653	200,823	79,316	181,095	69,266	763,932	750,977	1,514,909	6,060	250
20. Kurnool	74,525	14,019	73,679	14,574	43,037	8,948	36,841	7,467	140,529	132,661	273,190	3,243	84
Total	6,606,723	533,740	6,639,786	551,914	3,587,375	319,238	3,067,841	274,955	11,047,076	10,534,496	21,581,572	138,249	156
21. Madras	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	700,000	30	23,333
Grand Total	6,606,723	533,740	6,639,786	551,914	3,587,375	319,238	3,067,841	274,955	11,047,076	10,534,496	22,281,572	138,279	161

Population of Calcutta in May, 1850, exclusive of Suburbs.

Class.	Males by Ages.				Females by Ages.				Grand Total.	
	Under 4 yrs. of age.		Above 5, under 20.		Under 5 yrs. of age.		Above 5, under 20.		Total.	Grand Total.
	Under 4 yrs. of age.	Above 5, under 20.	Above 20, under 40.	Total.	Under 5 yrs. of age.	Above 5, under 20.	Above 20, under 40.	Total.		
Europeans	600	1,050	1,473	3,791	503	817	809	313	2,442	6,233
Eurians	417	934	779	2,449	348	766	779	273	2,166	4,615
Armenians	174	151	135	460	118	131	113	31	393	892
Chinese	50	87	421	699	40	46	43	19	148	847
Asiatics	1,505	1,709	2,920	7,970	1,226	1,529	2,436	2,181	7,372	15,342
Hindooes	18,297	40,507	36,085	165,659	14,897	30,437	41,038	22,304	108,676	274,335
Mahomedans	7,544	19,850	12,179	72,332	6,214	10,536	14,763	7,173	38,686	111,018
Total	28,587	54,378	109,257	253,399	23,346	44,262	59,981	32,294	159,883	413,282

Value of the Imports and Exports between the several Presidencies of British India and the United Kingdom and other Countries, in each Year, since 1834.

Years.	MERCHANDISE.					TREASURE.				MERCHANDISE AND TREASURE.			
	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	TOTAL.		Total Merchandise.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.	Bengal.	Madras.	Grand Total.
	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	United Kingdom.	Other Countries.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.	Rupees.
IMPORTS.													
1834-35	1,99,91,307	56,32,900	1,75,86,828	2,68,22,216	1,57,88,849	4,26,11,065	64,62,248	15,31,150	1,09,36,855	1,80,30,233	2,64,53,555	65,64,050	2,85,23,693
1835-36	2,17,63,613	67,23,265	2,13,91,580	3,13,54,106	1,64,64,372	4,78,18,478	68,71,057	11,27,602	1,34,65,302	2,14,64,651	2,85,75,300	68,50,887	3,48,56,942
1836-37	2,73,28,965	59,70,976	2,13,70,660	3,83,05,042	1,70,64,860	5,53,69,902	68,71,057	1,34,65,302	2,14,64,651	2,03,61,672	3,39,94,259	7,27,31,974	7,27,31,974
1837-38	2,46,39,650	60,39,238	1,96,46,423	3,21,06,633	1,82,18,078	5,03,24,711	1,04,88,830	12,85,429	1,46,26,754	2,61,01,013	3,51,27,880	73,24,667	3,42,73,177
1838-39	2,63,21,922	64,74,021	1,96,11,224	3,50,39,300	1,73,47,467	5,24,06,767	1,21,99,314	13,11,330	1,66,07,541	3,01,09,195	3,85,11,836	8,25,15,962	8,25,15,962
1839-40	3,34,15,915	63,33,073	1,80,63,374	4,28,94,892	1,94,17,476	6,23,12,368	1,27,67,867	11,24,062	60,68,713	1,94,62,642	4,56,83,782	79,57,141	2,41,24,087
1840-41	4,29,07,555	76,39,328	3,03,62,522	6,01,43,398	2,40,16,007	8,41,59,405	91,88,079	6,81,465	79,92,989	1,78,62,633	5,25,95,634	83,70,793	3,85,55,511
1841-42	4,26,29,101	87,83,268	2,84,73,284	5,43,95,648	2,84,90,005	8,28,85,653	1,64,87,117	7,94,130	1,71,51,669	3,44,32,916	5,56,38,975	66,05,935	4,82,24,035
1842-43	3,91,51,858	81,18,065	3,10,72,366	5,35,49,012	2,48,87,011	7,84,66,023	1,58,13,691	11,32,409	2,92,70,669	4,79,46,781	6,22,08,489	76,75,046	6,61,81,220
1843-44	4,47,42,726	62,22,637	3,69,10,611	6,34,73,490	2,47,04,484	8,81,77,974	1,73,23,763	11,32,409	2,92,70,669	4,79,46,781	6,22,08,489	76,75,046	6,61,81,220
1844-45	5,93,39,902	1,04,68,940	3,77,31,817	7,95,21,705	2,80,18,864	10,75,40,569	1,58,13,691	11,32,409	2,92,70,669	4,79,46,781	6,22,08,489	76,75,046	6,61,81,220
1845-46	5,25,26,174	84,99,134	3,00,49,486	6,47,71,431	2,61,03,363	9,08,74,794	99,10,658	17,22,976	1,38,26,552	2,49,59,286	6,22,36,252	1,02,22,110	4,33,76,038
1846-47	5,31,34,429	88,18,041	2,70,14,175	6,42,04,045	2,47,62,600	8,89,66,645	1,33,62,287	14,71,994	1,45,64,943	2,93,99,224	6,64,96,716	1,02,90,035	4,15,73,869
1847-48	4,67,13,614	97,66,641	2,94,95,915	5,79,02,284	2,80,73,886	8,59,76,170	74,72,294	13,21,533	1,09,40,147	1,97,33,914	5,41,85,848	1,10,88,174	4,04,36,062
1848-49	4,35,60,144	94,80,720	3,04,07,178	5,51,21,104	2,83,26,938	8,34,47,042	1,41,46,091	11,71,992	2,67,26,950	4,29,40,033	5,77,06,255	1,06,92,712	5,71,34,128
1849-50	5,28,31,701	90,60,046	4,11,07,139	7,57,89,897	2,72,69,979	10,29,98,886	1,21,48,653	12,14,371	2,06,05,050	3,39,68,074	6,49,80,354	1,69,74,117	6,17,12,189
1850-51	6,11,52,014	89,78,251	4,54,57,643	8,32,79,929	3,23,07,929	11,56,87,888	1,18,94,812	26,01,101	2,36,22,146	3,81,18,988	7,30,40,856	1,15,79,331	6,90,47,789
1851-52	7,08,74,068	90,64,558	4,24,66,476	9,22,67,265	3,01,37,607	12,24,04,302	2,30,64,704	29,73,994	2,44,81,922	3,05,20,590	9,39,38,772	1,20,38,342	6,69,48,378
1852-53	4,90,36,748	84,65,311	4,23,66,557	7,23,97,835	2,73,87,835	10,07,08,616	3,39,39,876	57,68,546	2,86,95,360	6,53,13,776	8,38,76,618	1,41,73,857	7,49,71,917
1853-54	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
EXPORTS.													
1834-35	4,09,20,436	88,61,079	3,01,52,688	3,05,69,730	4,93,64,473	7,99,34,203	6,65,549	10,63,776	2,18,982	19,47,407	4,15,85,985	99,24,855	3,03,70,770
1835-36	5,53,72,967	1,12,14,295	4,44,77,593	3,97,53,038	7,13,11,917	11,10,64,955	5,65,994	3,15,289	1,99,810	10,81,093	5,50,38,961	1,15,29,684	4,46,77,403
1836-37	6,63,82,110	1,27,88,009	5,27,31,713	4,91,54,792	8,92,47,180	13,24,01,832	10,13,164	7,38,138	3,00,018	26,39,340	6,84,96,274	1,35,14,167	5,30,31,731
1837-38	6,76,53,760	98,62,085	3,51,11,956	4,35,38,221	6,88,89,580	11,24,27,891	14,04,337	10,64,318	9,37,908	34,06,563	6,90,58,097	1,07,26,403	3,60,49,864
1838-39	6,79,16,215	1,02,04,928	3,96,26,650	4,51,31,993	7,26,16,100	11,77,47,093	16,27,600	9,12,371	9,39,087	34,79,058	6,95,43,815	1,11,17,199	4,05,65,737
1839-40	6,80,09,651	1,22,84,678	2,83,38,520	5,96,99,519	4,89,27,937	10,86,27,456	20,00,174	12,74,464	13,09,593	47,05,231	7,00,69,432	1,35,59,142	2,97,64,113
1840-41	8,06,05,258	1,04,41,658	4,35,08,533	7,65,43,881	6,40,11,961	13,45,52,842	14,02,061	8,93,005	13,09,593	36,64,859	8,20,67,712	1,13,34,663	4,48,18,326
1841-42	8,06,05,258	1,24,25,824	4,51,62,511	7,12,07,484	6,70,44,692	13,18,52,176	19,11,555	18,04,817	17,54,385	51,50,757	8,22,55,396	1,42,30,641	4,60,16,896
1842-43	7,36,34,357	1,30,19,916	4,88,63,973	5,82,09,658	7,73,08,588	13,65,18,246	7,29,341	9,53,172	11,75,453	21,57,966	7,43,63,698	1,32,73,088	5,00,39,426
1843-44	9,89,11,098	1,20,86,551	6,15,37,123	7,76,01,283	9,34,93,189	17,32,34,772	18,57,947	2,16,000	53,86,516	74,60,763	10,07,69,045	1,23,02,551	6,69,23,369
1844-45	9,82,21,971	1,64,14,627	5,12,65,596	7,21,06,197	9,94,95,927	16,89,02,124	38,65,454	6,90,583	64,32,455	1,16,68,402	10,21,87,405	1,70,65,160	5,77,17,961
1845-46	9,81,56,759	1,41,12,172	5,80,17,805	6,60,89,433	10,36,97,937	17,02,86,736	28,79,792	6,37,644	46,31,848	81,69,284	10,12,75,551	1,47,69,816	6,26,49,653
1846-47	9,23,43,334	1,51,61,468	4,60,48,973	6,51,16,865	8,84,37,510	15,36,54,375	28,54,043	6,81,809	36,02,954	71,38,696	9,51,97,977	1,58,43,167	4,96,51,927
1847-48	7,96,18,571	1,27,72,963	4,07,32,364	5,68,38,267	7,82,85,716	13,31,29,970	90,50,711	2,42,626	30,67,643	1,42,60,934	8,86,69,282	1,49,15,580	4,37,99,479
1848-49	9,03,88,639	1,21,24,629	5,83,71,736	6,19,19,593	9,89,65,425	16,08,85,018	78,48,785	73,38,483	1,02,50,157	97,12,425	9,81,97,424	1,94,63,112	6,86,21,907
1849-50	10,14,80,387	1,27,28,842	5,89,13,764	7,02,64,706	10,28,58,287	17,31,22,993	35,42,058	7,26,378	54,44,065	97,12,441	10,50,22,445	1,34,55,220	6,43,57,769
1850-51	9,99,75,278	1,56,69,765	6,59,96,453	8,10,40,164	10,06,91,332	18,46,41,496	27,63,295	10,41,407	16,08,189	54,12,801	10,27,38,573	1,67,11,172	6,76,04,642
1851-52	10,42,39,706	1,65,88,082	7,79,64,749	7,13,88,884	12,74,95,175	19,47,92,437	25,05,884	21,57,681	45,27,324	91,90,889	10,21,45,590	1,87,45,763	8,24,92,073
1852-53	10,73,85,547	2,12,16,139	7,60,44,644	4,37,78,348	16,05,67,982	20,46,46,530	3,63,750	3,63,823	54,24,726	1,05,52,299	11,21,49,297	2,15,79,962	8,14,98,629
1853-54	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Note—The Indian port-to-port trade is not included in the above statement

556 MARITIME PROGRESS OF CALCUTTA, MADRAS, AND BOMBAY.

Number and Tonnage of all Vessels entered and cleared at the Ports in each Presidency—1840 to 1852:—

Years.			Entered.			Cleared.			Total.		
BENGAL			Years.			Entered.			Cleared.		
Ves.	Tons.	Ves.	Tons.	Ves.	Tons.	Ves.	Tons.	Ves.	Tons.	Ves.	Tons.
1840	686	234,898	689	233,300	1,375	468,108	1840	19,322	444,435	19,173	469,301
1841	913	295,596	882	279,688	1,795	575,284	1841	19,864	578,716	15,051	462,226
1842	655	231,672	725	263,436	1,380	495,108	1842	19,237	611,271	16,980	477,539
1843	772	254,519	813	271,754	1,585	526,273	1843	20,529	527,626	19,201	589,836
1844	729	252,491	773	267,058	1,502	519,549	1844	19,227	524,850	20,485	574,206
1845	1,045	282,674	1,052	292,315	2,097	574,989	1845	17,274	494,469	19,856	689,969
1846	996	274,634	1,024	289,587	2,020	564,221	1846	18,143	530,011	14,610	430,929
1847	1,117	332,688	1,108	326,972	2,225	659,660	1847	18,199	559,276	19,201	592,777
1848	862	308,347	845	301,157	1,707	609,504	1848	24,441	685,165	21,487	652,265
1849	1,020	349,614	1,046	362,290	2,066	711,904	1849	29,714	804,193	28,981	779,241
1850	1,033	356,502	1,029	357,799	2,062	714,301	1850	32,126	804,956	33,130	829,873
1851	998	393,322	980	373,330	1,978	766,652	1851	36,706	867,514	37,694	893,005
1852	839	433,739	811	414,795	1,650	848,534	1852	42,241	907,447	42,218	908,328
MADRAS			BOMBAY			TOTALS					
1840	5,879	371,644	6,727	427,872	12,606	799,516	1840	25,887	1,050,887	26,589	1,130,473
1841	6,271	368,924	6,781	432,474	13,052	801,398	1841	27,048	1,243,236	22,714	1,174,388
1842	6,016	400,728	6,476	441,808	12,492	842,536	1842	25,908	1,243,671	24,181	1,182,783
1843	5,580	375,375	6,790	479,046	12,370	854,421	1843	26,881	1,157,520	26,804	1,340,636
1844	6,181	430,295	7,292	490,588	13,473	920,883	1844	26,137	1,207,636	28,550	1,331,852
1845	6,495	456,854	7,818	533,564	14,313	990,418	1845	24,814	1,233,997	28,726	1,515,848
1846	6,168	475,038	7,405	534,935	13,573	1,009,973	1846	25,307	1,279,683	23,039	1,255,151
1847	5,868	448,712	6,531	486,316	12,399	935,028	1847	25,184	1,340,676	26,840	1,406,065
1848	5,711	441,891	7,108	528,781	12,819	970,672	1848	31,014	1,435,403	29,440	1,482,203
1849	5,876	439,807	7,693	549,573	13,569	989,380	1849	36,610	1,593,614	37,720	1,691,104
1850	5,813	488,800	7,780	620,465	13,593	1,109,265	1850	38,972	1,650,258	41,939	1,808,137
1851	5,136	435,153	6,687	557,409	11,823	992,612	1851	42,840	1,695,989	45,361	1,823,794
1852	5,787	490,276	7,184	620,948	12,971	1,111,224	1852	48,867	1,831,462	50,213	1,944,071

Shipping entering these Ports between 1802 and 1835.

Years.	Calcutta.		Madras.		Bombay.		Total.	
	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.
1802-'3	520	150,154	1,476	149,571	105	49,022	2,101	348,748
1803-'4	594	171,229	1,851	198,218	143	62,635	2,588	432,082
1811-'12	601	151,224	5,826	267,888	79	32,161	6,506	451,273
1812-'13	527	148,866	6,691	410,894	139	54,953	7,357	614,653
1823-'24	498	139,773	8,094	485,297	122	52,720	8,714	677,790
1824-'25	539	157,039	5,642	305,422	129	54,239	6,310	516,700
1830-'31	475	134,805	5,157	262,127	149	60,379	5,781	457,311
1831-'32	492	110,767	4,885	255,296	145	56,051	5,459	422,114
1832-'33	478	121,544	4,826	256,344	165	71,929	5,469	449,827
1833-'34	830	183,471	5,031	318,417	170	69,803	6,031	571,691
1834-'35	648	164,485	5,012	306,727	181	73,175	5,841	544,387
1835-'36	522	151,019	5,379	311,694	204	75,830	6,105	538,543

Number and Tonnage of Vessels of each Nation entered and cleared at Ports in British India, since 1850-'51.

Nationality of Vessels.	Entered.						Cleared.					
	1850-'51.		1851-'52.		1852-'53.		1850-'51.		1851-'52.		1852-'53.	
	Ves.	Tons.	Ves.	Tons.	Ves.	Tons.	Ves.	Tons.	Ves.	Tons.	Ves.	Tons.
UNDER—												
British Colours . . .	1,861	682,762	1,778	683,179	1,789	722,035	2,339	754,254	2,202	726,807	2,277	820,707
American	67	33,299	74	34,888	89	57,207	66	33,860	79	33,782	37	24,358
Arabian	296	36,623	230	32,461	252	37,476	430	45,621	259	43,841	284	36,491
Austrian	—	—	1	522	1	425	—	—	1	566	—	—
Belgian	—	—	—	—	3	1,380	—	—	—	—	3	1,380
Bhownugger	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	176	—	—
Bombay	—	—	121	6,691	154	7,632	—	—	219	12,027	240	12,208
Bremen	—	—	6	2,845	4	1,165	—	—	1	573	1	600
Burmese	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	220
Danish	4	1,328	2	1,070	6	2,274	4	1,171	2	1,338	4	2,071
Dutch	6	2,284	3	1,790	6	3,232	7	2,469	2	1,474	4	1,969
French	139	42,682	146	44,210	263	65,647	148	47,548	176	57,031	295	66,606
Hamburg	5	1,668	9	4,179	3	875	3	886	4	1,489	6	2,681
Norwegian	—	—	—	—	1	350	—	—	—	—	—	—
Portuguese	130	2,039	234	4,179	179	3,692	180	3,171	238	3,772	168	3,463
Russian	—	—	3	1,682	4	1,348	1	475	1	356	—	—
Sardinian	—	—	—	—	1	504	—	—	—	—	1	504
Spanish	1	405	—	—	—	—	1	800	—	—	—	—
Swedish	6	1,358	6	2,456	10	3,339	6	2,012	3	1,023	8	4,045
Turkish	—	—	—	—	1	650	—	—	—	—	—	—
Native	36,424	822,692	40,181	842,610	46,019	859,566	38,716	893,076	42,122	905,824	46,821	919,722
Steamers	33	23,118	46	33,224	82	62,665	38	22,794	51	33,665	63	47,046
Total	38,972	1,650,258	42,840	1,695,989	48,867	1,831,462	41,939	1,808,137	45,361	1,823,744	50,213	1,944,071

LAND REVENUE OF EACH INDIAN PRESIDENCY.

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Land Revenue in British India, since 1789 (to show its progress.)

Land Revenues.	1789-'90.	1799-1800.	1809-'10.	1819-'20.	1829-'30.	1834-'35.	1839-'40.	1844-'45.	1850-'51.	1851-'52.	1852-'53.	1853-'54.
BENGAL, BEHAR, AND ORISSA:—												
Revenues, Current S. Rs.	2,56,06,200	2,33,67,056	2,60,82,136	2,71,99,225	2,63,36,818	2,55,75,674						
Balances do.	9,67,989	31,82,947	11,45,267	22,71,617	31,64,538	60,14,331						
Not in Jumma do.	1,19,021	2,13,569	39,267	4,37,171	4,61,383	4,13,656						
Miscellaneous do.	1,12,996	38,422	84,645	1,36,069	4,03,906	11,56,723						
Total	2,63,38,206	2,68,01,994	2,73,51,275	3,00,44,072	3,03,56,245	3,01,59,384						
BENARES:—												
Revenues, Current S. Rs.	36,24,823	32,63,420	37,44,142	43,80,451	43,15,612							
Balances do.	3,94,241	4,28,257	1,27,108	36,068	5,52,891							
Not in Jumma do.	—	45,138	59,271	39,207	56,296							
Total	40,19,064	37,36,845	39,30,521	44,55,716	49,24,799							
BENGAL.—Ceded and Conquered Provinces:—												
Revenues, Current, Ceded Provinces S. Rs.	—	—	1,40,27,596	1,82,23,863	1,21,83,716							
Do. do.	—	—	90,83,338	1,14,51,257	1,56,63,394	3,53,20,976						
Balances do.	—	—	14,38,854	7,22,104	11,28,581	39,54,554						
Do. do.	—	—	10,70,981	6,21,800	12,29,239							
Not in Jumma do.	—	—	41,503	1,84,081	47,021	8,35,556						
Do. do.	—	—	1,02,941	1,37,184	5,30,387							
Miscellaneous do.	—	—	46,704	1,31,216	75,856	2,28,566						
Do. do.	—	—	2,17,582	65,738	1,08,010							
Total	—	—	2,60,29,499	3,15,37,273	3,09,57,204	3,79,77,701						
MADRAS.—Ancient Possessions:—												
Revenues, Current Pagodas	12,74,477	15,58,812	16,29,562	19,84,857	19,67,513							
Arrears of do. do.	2,99,625	6,58,788	5,01,410	2,35,024	1,82,184							
Total	15,74,102	21,17,600	21,30,972	22,19,881	21,49,697							
MADRAS.—Ceded & Conquered Provinces:—												
Revenues, Current Pagodas	—	20,25,093	75,93,033	71,21,358	65,19,888	82,12,644	3,22,56,007	3,37,81,887	3,51,50,690	3,61,06,460	3,68,78,112	3,40,23,335
Arrears of do. do.	—	1,98,698	6,98,664	4,84,965	4,22,856	6,41,817						
Total	—	22,23,751	81,91,597	76,06,223	69,42,744	88,84,491						
BOMBAY.—Ancient Possessions:—												
Revenues, Current, and Arrears Rupees	—	2,70,465	3,96,833	3,07,043	14,28,240							
Ceded and Conquered Provinces:—												
Revenues, Current, and Arrears Rupees	—	19,06,304	30,53,010	1,30,24,793	1,28,80,465	1,48,20,058	1,70,02,676	1,92,07,065	2,28,60,748	2,28,96,236	2,23,68,826	No returns.
Total	—	21,76,769	34,49,853	1,33,31,836	1,43,08,075	1,48,20,058	—	—	1,02,08,891	96,53,629	94,45,453	94,73,917

* The ancient and modern possessions are not stated separately after 1829-'30.

† The Land Revenue is not shown separately, but is included in the general head "Receipts of the Province of Sind," in the Bombay accounts. ‡ No return.

Locality and Physical Aspect of Districts, Provinces, and States of India.

- PENJAB**, or region of the "five rivers;" adjoining Afghanistan on the E.,—A plain, sloping from N.E. to S.W.; north part, near Himalayas, hilly and mountainous. Pasturage and grazing-grounds.
- CIS-SUTLEJ TERRITORY**,—Between Sutlej and Jumna, and a strip of land between the Ghara river and Rajpootana. Bhawalpoor and Sirhind, a plain; hill-slates on Himalaya ridges, mountainous and richly wooded.
- CASHMERE**,—Western Himalaya. Cashmere Proper, a fertile valley, enclosed by mountains. Elevation of bottom, 5,500 to 6,000 ft.: lofty snow-clad ranges, N.W. to S.E., constitute the general configuration.
- BUSSAHR**,—Wonderful maze of some of the highest mountains in the world; general rise from S. to N.
- GURHWAL**,—Ranges of enormous height, with several valleys; the whole drained by the Ganges. Slope from N. and N.E.
- SINDE**,—Lower course and delta of Indus; between Beloochistan mountains and Great Desert. Low and flat. Some short ridges of hills in the W. part; towards the E. a desert. Mouths of Indus continually changing.
- CUTCH**,—S.E. of Sinde. Two parallel hilly ranges nearly intersect province.
- WESTERN RAJPOOTANA**,—Between Sinde and Bhawalpoor and Arravulli range. Mostly a plain, interspersed with sand-hills: rocky ridges extend in various directions.
- EASTERN RAJPOOTANA**,—Between Arravulli mountains and Malwa. Near the Arravulli a table-land, declining to N.E.: continuous parallel hilly ranges extend N.E. to the vicinity of Delhi.
- GUZERAT**,—S. of Cutch and Rajpootana. Very rugged, especially in Kattywar: hills connected with Vindhya, and part of W. Ghats.
- MALWA** (Central India),—Between Guzerat and Bundelcund. A plateau, supported by Vindhya range; elevation diminishing towards Northern Gangetic valley.
- BHOPAL, MALWA**,—Greater part a table-land, resting on N. side of Vindhya; declivity to N. A few streams find their way, through gorges in the chain, into Nerbudda, which flows along the S. frontier.
- GWALIOR, or SCINDIAH**,—Central India. N.E. part level, bare, and much cut up by ravines; S., the country becomes hilly; middle part, a plateau; slope to the N.; S. part crossed by Nerbudda valley.
- AHMEDABAD and KAIRA**,—Head of the Gulf of Cambay. Almost a perfect level; appearing as if the sea had abandoned it at no very remote period.
- KANDEISH**,—Both banks of Taptee river. Valley of Taptee, enclosed by hills 1,000 to 1,800 ft. high. Tracts formerly cultivated; now covered with jungle and infested with tigers.
- NORTHERN and SOUTHERN CONCANS**,—Along the sea from lat. 16° to lat. 20°, including Bombay. Valleys enclosed by spurs from W. Ghats, through which a clear stream flows, until influenced by the tides. Ravines and gorges filled with jungle, harboring beasts of prey, especially tigers.
- POONA**,—Deccan. High table-land; slope from N.W. to S.E. Intersected by numerous spurs from W. Ghats: elevation diminishing towards S.E.
- SATTARA**,—Deccan. High table-land; slope from N.W. to S.E. Gradual but rugged declivity from W. Ghats to S.E.
- DHARWAR, BELGAUM, and SHOLAPOON**,—Deccan. Undulating plains, elevated from about 2,000 to 2,500 ft.; slope to the E. and N.E.
- HYDERABAD, or NIZAM'S DOMINIONS**,—Deccan. For the most part an undulating plain; declivity from W. to E.: many isolated hills and ranges, of moderate elevation.
- WESTERN DIVISION: MADRAS PRESIDENCY**,—Malabar coast. Low sea-coast, rising towards culminating ridge of W. Ghats. Numerous narrow shallow rivers flowing E. to W. from Ghats. Country hilly.
- TRAVANCORE**,—Malabar coast. Low sandy sea-coast; behind the W. Ghats; attaining in some places an altitude of 7,000 ft.
- SOUTHERN DIVISION: MADRAS PRESIDENCY**,—Between Mysoor and Travancore, and Coromandel coast. E. parts level; towards the W. rising into mountains: Neilgherries and E. Ghats supporting table-land of Mysoor.
- MYSOOR**,—S. of Deccan. High table-land; here and there huge masses of rock, apparently thrown tumultuously together.
- CENTRAL DIVISION: MADRAS PRESIDENCY**,—Between Mysoor and Coromandel coast. Bellary and Cuddapah district; a table-land, resting on stupendous wall of mountains. Coast districts low, interspersed with hills.
- NORTHERN DIVISION: MADRAS PRESIDENCY**,—W. side of Bay of Bengal. Low sea-coast (except a ridge extending along sea-shore in Vizagapatam district), hilly and mountainous to W. delta of Godavery and Kistna rivers.
- CUTTACK**,—Orissa coast. Low sandy shore; delta of Mahanuddy; inland, the Moghalbandi, a dry tract; then rises the hill country, closing down to the sea near Chilka lake, and near Balasore.
- CUTTACK MEHALS**,—Inland of Cuttack province. Very hilly. Forests of fine timber.
- SOUTH-WEST FRONTIER OF BENGAL**. Table-lands of Chota-Nagpoor, Sirgooja, and Mynpat; and mountains of Palamow, &c.
- ORISSA**,—Inland of Northern Circars. Table-land, supported by E. Ghats: slope to W., to Godavery; to S., to Bay of Bengal, the rivers flowing through *ghats*, or passes; and to N. and N.E., to Mahanuddy.
- NAGPOOR, or BERAR**,—Between Sangor and Nerbudda, and the Circars; and the Godavery and Wein-Gunga, and upper course of Mahanuddy. In general of considerable elevation; slope from N.W. to S.E. Lanjhee range divides the territory into two basins—one into Mahanuddy, and the other into Godavery. N. part rugged and mountainous; S.E. part hilly and woody.
- SAUGOR and NERBUDDA TERRITORY**,—On each bank of upper course of Nerbudda river. Considerably elevated tract: E. part a table-land, declining to W., to valley of Nerbudda; to the S. are the Sautpoora and Mahadeo mountains; to the N. the Vindhya, which is but the brow of a rugged plateau; elevation diminishing towards the N.
- REWAH**,—Adjoining Nerbudda territories on the N.E. W. and N.W. mountainous, rising in three successive plateaux: intersected by valley of Sone from W. to E. S. of this a table-land, contiguous to that of Sirgooja.
- BUNDELCUND STATES**,—Between Nerbudda territory and N.W. Provinces. Plain, little elevated above valley of Jumna; on the W. and S. a continuous range of hills; to the E. they close down upon the Ganges. Some of the rivers flow through the plain, or are precipitated in cascades over the brow of the high land.
- ALLAHABAD**,—N. W. Provinces. Plain, sloping from N.W. to S.E. Banks of Jumna high in some parts of Banda district.
- AGRA**,—N. W. Provinces. Plain, sloping from N.W. to S.E. A slightly elevated ridge extends along the Dooab, about midway between the Ganges and Jumna.
- BHURTPUR**,—Gangetic plain. Level; slope to E. Small detached hills in N. part.
- MEERUT**,—N. W. Provinces. Plain; slope in Suharunpoor, Moznflnruuggur and Meerut districts, from N. to S.; in Boolundshnbur and Allyghur, N.W. to S.E.
- DELHI**,—N. W. Provinces. Mostly level. Ridges in Goorgaon district 400 to 600 ft. above surrounding country.
- KUMAON**,—N. W. Provinces. Well-defined mountain system. S. limit, Ghagur mountain; successive ranges rise higher and higher, until ultimately crowned by the culminating ridge of the stupendous Himalaya.
- ROHILCUND**,—N. W. Provinces. Level; slope from N.W. to S.E., and from N. to S.

- OUDE**,—Gangetic plain. Plain; declivity (avg. 7 in. per m.) from N.W. to S.E. Sub-Himalaya range on N. frontier.
- NEPAUL**,—S. of Himalaya; sustained by sub-Himalaya. Table-land average about 4,000 ft. Valleys, enclosed by lofty chains; sides covered with forests, surmounted by culminating ridge of snow-clad Himalaya.
- SIKKIM**,—Himalaya. Spurs from Himalaya; enclosing deep valleys.
- BENARES**,—N. W. Provinces. Plain on either side of Ganges. Declivity from N.W. to S.E., and from W. to E. In S. part of Mirzapoor dist., surface rises into a rugged table-land, being a continuation of the Vindhya chain.
- PATNA**,—Gangetic plain, Bengal. Sarun and Patna districts; and along Ganges, level; table-land in S.W. part of Shahabad, descent very abrupt; a rocky ridge in S. part of Behar district.
- BHAGULPOOR**,—Gangetic plain, Bengal. Generally flat; slope from W. to E. Rajmahal hills rise on river bank of Ganges, and stretch S. and S.W. through Bhagulpoor district. Tirhoot diversified by undulations.
- MOORSHEDABAD**,—Bengal. Rungpoor and Pubna dists. low; Rajeshaye flat; hilly to W.; W. parts of Moorshedabad and Beerbhoom hilly.
- JESSORE**,—Delta of Ganges, and river bank of Hooghly river (Calcutta district.) Greater part level; even depressed in Jessore district; in W. parts of Hooghly, Burdwan, and Bancoora, rises into slight eminences.
- DACCA**,—E. Bengal. Declivity from N. to S.; intersected by Brahmapootra. Jyntea, hilly; Silhet, a hollow, swampy basin, enclosed on three sides by mountains.
- GARROW AND COSSYAH STATES**,—Assam. Hilly and mountainous; numerous streams.
- COOCH BEHAR**,—Bengal. Level; slope to S.E.
- N.E. FRONTIER: ASSAM**,—N. of Burmah. Intersected by Brahmapootra, which receives the drainage of the sub-Himalaya from the N.; Garrows, Cossyhs, and Nagas from the S.; numerous clumps of abrupt hills.
- BHUTAN**,—Foot of E. section of Himalaya. Imperfectly known: a table-land resting on the sub-Himalaya, which rise from 5,000 to 6,000 ft. above Assam.
- NAGA TRIBES**,—Upper Assam. Range of mountains dividing Burmah from the British dominions.
- TIPPERAH**,—Bengal. Wild hilly regions: fertile tracts on Megna.
- MUNEEPOOR**,—Burmese frontier. Valley, enclosed by precipitous mountains.
- CHITTAGONG**,—Mouths of Brahmapootra, and N.E. side of Bay of Bengal. Sea-coast: plains,—backed by parallel ranges of lofty mountains, throwing off spurs in a W. direction. Drainage from E. to W.
- ARRACAN**,—E. side of Bay of Bengal. Extensive flats, intersected by numerous navigable salt-water creeks: ranges of mountains extending N. and S. Islands and fine harbours.
- PEGU**,—Lower course and delta of Irawaddy. Gradual slope from N. to S. N. of Prome, hilly: range skirting E. shore of Bay of Bengal, diminishing in height towards C. Negrais. Numerous passes.
- TENASSERIM PROVINCES**,—E. side of Bay of Bengal. Generally rugged; parallel ranges N. and S., and E. and W.: also extensive plains. High, bold islands, with many harbours.
- Islands on the Coast of India—Name, Locality and Position, Extent, Physical Features, and Remarks.*
- KAROOMBA**,—Gulf of Cutch; lat. 22° 27', lon. 69° 47'. 1½ m. broad, and 3 m. long.
- BEYT, or BET**,—Gulf of Cutch; lat. 22° 28', lon. 69° 10'. About 3 m. long, and greatest breadth about ½ m. On the banks are situate a castle or fort, compact and imposing; lofty massive towers, mounted with iron ordnance. Many temples and shrines in honour of Crishna.
- DIV**,—Kattywar; lat. 20° 42', lon. 71°. About 7 m. long; breadth, varying from 1½ to 2 m. (See *Diu*—"Ports and Havens.")
- PERIM**,—Gulf of Cambay; lat. 21° 38', lon. 72° 19'. About 2 m. long, and ½ m. broad. Numerous organic remains embedded in conglomerate: various antiquities extant.
- BASSEIN**,—Concans; lat. 19° 25', lon. 72° 50'. About 11 m. long, and 3 m. broad; 35 sq. m. Irregular surface; amongst other eminences a high hill of tabular form, and a conical peak not quite so elevated.
- SALSETTE**,—Concans; lat. 19°—19° 18', lon. 72° 54'—73° 3'. 18 m. long, 10 m. broad; about 150 sq. m. Diversified by hills, some of considerable elevation. Keneri commands an extensive view.
- BOMBAY**,—Concans; lat. 18° 57', lon. 72° 52'. Length, 8 m.; average breadth, 3 m. Two parallel ranges of rocks of unequal length are united at their extremities by hills of sandstone. Malabar, Mazagon, and Parell hills are the principal elevations.
- ELEPHANTA, or GARA-PORI**,—Bombay harbour; lat. 18° 57', lon. 73°. Rather less than 6 m. in circumference. Composed of two long hills, with a narrow valley. Famed for its excavated temples.
- KOLABAH**,—Concans; lat. 18° 38', lon. 72° 56'. Long neglected, as a barren rock, but fortified by the Maharrata, Sevajee.
- MALWUN**,—Concans; lat. 16° 4', lon. 73° 31'. Little elevated above the sea, and not easily distinguished from the main-land.
- RAMISERAM**,—Gulf of Manaar; lat. 9° 18', lon. 79° 21'. 14 m. long, and 5 m. broad. Low, sandy, and uncultivated. Sacred in Hindoo mythology; great pagoda.
- SAUGOR**,—Mouths of Ganges; lat. 21° 42', lon. 88° 8'. 7 or 8 m. long, and 4 m. broad. Salt manufacture formerly carried on. Island held in great veneration by the Hindoos.
- DON MANICK ISLANDS**,—Mouths of Megna; lat. 21° 55', lon. 90° 43'. Flat.
- LABADOR**,—Mouths of Megna; lat. 22° 22', lon. 90° 48'. Low.
- DECCAN SHABAZPORE**,—Months of Megna; lat. 22° 30', lon. 91°. Flat.
- HATTIA**,—Mouths of Megna; lat. 22° 35', lon. 91°. Level.
- SUNDEEP**,—Mouths of Megna; lat. 22° 30', lon. 91° 32'. About 18 m. long, and 6 m. broad. Level; fertile, and abounding with cattle.
- KOOTUNDEA ISLANDS**,—Chittagong; lat. 21° 50', lon. 91° 55'. About 12 m. long. Low and woody.
- MUSCAL**,—Chittagong; lat. 21° 35', lon. 92°. 15 m. long, and 7 m. broad. Some small elevations.
- SHAPOREE**,—Arracan; lat. 20° 46', lon. 92° 24'.
- ST. MARTIN**,—Arracan; lat. 20° 36', lon. 92° 25'. Two divisions united by a dry ledge of rocks.
- BOLONGO**,—Arracan; lat. 20°, lon. 93°. Mountainous, woody, and rugged.
- PENY KYOUNG**,—Arracan; lat. 20°, lon. 93° 4'. 26 m. long; 6 m. broad. Mountainous, woody, and rugged.
- ANGEY KYOUNG**,—Arracan; lat. 19° 50', lon. 93° 10'. 20 m. long; 3 m. broad. Mountainous, woody, and rugged.
- RAMREE**,—Arracan; lat. 19° 5', lon. 93° 52'. About 50 m. long; extreme breadth, 20 m.
- CHEDUBA**,—Arracan; lat. 18° 40'—56', lon. 93° 31'—50'. About 20 m. long, and 17 broad; 256 sq. m. Hill and dale; some parts picturesque. Hills in the north part covered with jungle.
- FLAT**,—Arracan; lat. 18° 37', lon. 93° 50'. About 4 m. long. High towards the centre.
- NEGRAIS**,—Pegu; lat. 15° 58', lon. 94° 24'. Circumference, about 18 m.; area, 10 sq. m. Rendered conspicuous by a hill forming the E. high land on the coast.
- PELEW GEWEN**,—Month of Saluen river; lat. 16° 20', lon. 97° 37'.
- KALEGOUK**,—Tenasserim; lat. 15° 32', lon. 97° 43'. 6 m. long; 1 m. broad.
- MOSCOS ISLANDS**,—Tenasserim; lat. 13° 47'—14° 28', lon. 97° 53'. Safe channel between them and the coast.
- TAVOY**,—Tenasserim; lat. 12° 55'—13° 15', lon. 98° 23'. About 20 m. long, and 2 m. broad. Of moderate height.

CAROSSA,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. $12^{\circ} 48'$, lon. $97^{\circ} 58'$. Moderately high.
KING,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. $12^{\circ} 31'$, lon. $98^{\circ} 28'$. Length, 26 m.; breadth, 10 m.
ELPHINSTONE,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. $12^{\circ} 21'$, lon. $98^{\circ} 10'$. 13 m. long; $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. broad.
ROSS,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. $12^{\circ} 54'$, lon. $98^{\circ} 12'$.
BENTINCK,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. $11^{\circ} 45'$, lon. $98^{\circ} 9'$. 20 m. long; 6 m. broad.
DOMEL,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. $11^{\circ} 40'$, lon. $98^{\circ} 20'$. 26 m. long; 5 m. broad.
KISSERANG,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. $11^{\circ} 34'$, lon. $98^{\circ} 36'$. 20 m. long; 10 m. broad.
SULLIVAN'S,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. $10^{\circ} 50'$, lon. $98^{\circ} 20'$. 36 m. long, and 3 m. broad.
CLARA,—Mergui Archipelago; lat. $10^{\circ} 54'$, lon. $98^{\circ} 4'$. High; having small peaks, one very sharp, like a sugar-loaf.

Harbours and Havens on the Coast of India—Name, District, Position, Dimensions, Soundings, and Remarks.

KURRACHEE,—Sinde; lat. $24^{\circ} 51' N.$, lon. $67^{\circ} 2' E.$ Spacious; about 5 m. N. from Munoorra point, and about the same from town. Entrance, $1\frac{1}{2}$ fath. at low-water; 3 ft. at spring-tides. W. side, from 2 to 4 fath. at low-water. Position of great importance: the only safe port in Sind. Population, 22,227. Railway from port to navigable part of Indus.
POORUNDER,—Kattywar; lat. $21^{\circ} 37'$, lon. $69^{\circ} 45'$. Entrance obstructed by a bar. Much frequented by craft from 12 to 80 tons burthen; trading with Africa, Sind, Beloochistan, Persian Gulf, and Malabar coast. Exp., grain and cotton. Imp., various kinds.
NUVEE-BUNDER,—Kattywar; lat. $21^{\circ} 28'$, lon. $69^{\circ} 54'$. Available only for small craft. River Bhader, navigable for 18 m. above town.
DIU,—Kattywar (on an island); lat. $20^{\circ} 42'$, lon. 71° . Good haven, 3 and 4 fath. Small harbour E. of Din head, from 2 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ fath. A Portuguese town, well fortified; little traffic.
MOWA,—Kattywar; lat. $21^{\circ} 3'$, lon. $71^{\circ} 43'$. 7 to 10 fath. Anchorage without shelter from the S.; with the flood-tide a vessel must lie with a reef of rocks right astern; considerable traffic.
GOGO,—Kattywar; lat. $21^{\circ} 39'$, lon. $72^{\circ} 15'$. Excellent anchorage; safe during S.W. monsoon; water always smooth. Ships touching here may procure water and refreshments, or repair damages.
BROWNUGUR,—Kattywar; lat. $21^{\circ} 45'$, lon. $72^{\circ} 10'$. Good and safe harbour. Place of extensive trade.
BROACH,—Bombay; lat. $21^{\circ} 42'$, lon. $73^{\circ} 2'$. River (Nerbudda) 2 m. wide, but shallow; at flood-tide there is a deep but intricate channel. Navigable only for craft of 50 tons burthen at all times. Town walled.
SURAT,—Bombay; lat. $21^{\circ} 10'$, lon. $72^{\circ} 52'$. A barred harbour. Roadstead dangerous in spring, when S. and W. winds prevail.
DAMAUN,—Bombay; lat. $20^{\circ} 24'$, lon. $72^{\circ} 53'$. 2 ft. on bar at low-water; spring-tides, 18 or 20 ft. inside. Rise of tide, 17 or 18 ft. Outside bar, a roadstead 8 fath. Excellent place for small vessels during S.W. monsoon, and for repairs. Portuguese town fortified.
BOMBAY,—Concans; lat. $18^{\circ} 57'$, lon. $72^{\circ} 52'$. Excellent and extensive haven. Continuous breakwater for nearly 10 m. Lighthouse, 150 ft. above sea, at S. extremity of Colaba Island. Great facilities for ship-building. Large docks, and strongly fortified.
JINJERA, or **RAJAPUR**,—Concans; lat. $18^{\circ} 18'$, lon. $73^{\circ} 1'$. 4 to 5 fath. at entrance, and same depth inside at low-water. No bar; shelter from all winds. Fortified.
BANKOTE,—Concans; lat. $17^{\circ} 58'$, lon. $73^{\circ} 8'$. 5 fath. low-water. Small haven at the mouth of the Savitree. Fort Victoria, on a high barren hill, S. side of entrance.
GHERIAH, or **VIADROOG**,—Concans; lat. $16^{\circ} 32'$, lon. $73^{\circ} 22'$. 5 to 7 fath. entrance, and 3 to 4 fath. inside at low-water. Excellent harbour; land-locked and sheltered from all winds. No bar.

VINGORLA,—Concans; lat. $15^{\circ} 50'$, lon. $73^{\circ} 41'$. Small bay; sheltered from every point except the S. About 2 m. from the main-land are the Vingorla rocks, —dangerous.

GOA,—W. coast, S. India; lat. $15^{\circ} 30'$, lon. 74° . Fine harbour, formed by an arm of the sea, into which flows a small river. Ancient Portuguese city, now falling into decay.

SEDASHEVAGHUR,—Malabar coast; lat. $14^{\circ} 52'$, lon. $74^{\circ} 12'$. Entrance to river 25 ft. at high tide; hazardous and intricate. Anchorage outside in Carwar Bay, sheltered by several islets. Fortified.

HONAHWAR,—Malabar coast; lat. $14^{\circ} 17'$, lon. $74^{\circ} 30'$. 7 m. long; 3 m. broad; 15 sq. m.; 5 or 6 fath. Though not a good haven, it can receive large ships.

MOOLKY,—Malabar coast; lat. $13^{\circ} 6'$, lon. $74^{\circ} 51'$. Place of shelter for coasting and fishing craft. Mulki rocks outside.

MANGALORE,—Malabar coast; lat. $12^{\circ} 52'$, lon. $74^{\circ} 54'$. Estuary, a fine expanse of water, separated from the sea by a beach of sand. The utility of the haven is greatly impaired, as the depth at the entrance is liable to vary.

CANANORE,—Malabar coast; lat. $11^{\circ} 52'$, lon. $75^{\circ} 26'$. Small bay, open to the S., but sheltered on the W. 5 and $5\frac{1}{2}$ fath. abreast of the fort. Water-shoals and rocky bottom near the fort.

TELLICHERRY,—Malabar coast; lat. $11^{\circ} 45'$, lon. $75^{\circ} 33'$. Abreast of the fort is a ledge of rocks, between which and the land small craft may anchor. A shipping-place for produce of coast.

MAHE,—Malabar coast; lat. $11^{\circ} 42'$, lon. $75^{\circ} 36'$. 5 or 6 fath. from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 m. from shore. Vessels of considerable burthen must anchor in the road. In fair weather, small craft can cross the bar of the river safely. A small French possession.

CALICUT,—Malabar coast; lat. $11^{\circ} 15'$, lon. $75^{\circ} 50'$. 5 or 6 fath. from 2 to 3 m. from land. No river or haven. A capacious haven said to have existed formerly; now filled up by drifted sand.

PONANY,—Malabar coast; lat. $10^{\circ} 48'$, lon. $75^{\circ} 58'$. 3 or 4 m. to sea is a shoal, but anchorage between it and land. 4 fath. on shoal, 6 fath. inside between it and shore. River navigable only for small craft. A railway from Madras is contemplated.

COCHIN,—Malabar coast; lat. $9^{\circ} 58'$, lon. $76^{\circ} 18'$. Outside the mouth of the Backwater there is a bar with 14 or 15 ft., inside about 25 or 30 ft. Injurious affected by the S.W. monsoon.

QUILON,—Malabar coast; lat. $8^{\circ} 53'$, lon. $76^{\circ} 39'$. A bight where ships may anchor, under shelter, at about $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 m. from the fort. Formerly a place of note.

TUTICORIN,—Gulf of Manaar; lat. $8^{\circ} 48'$, lon. $78^{\circ} 12'$. Safe roadstead; good anchorage, sheltered on all points. Pearl oyster banks exist in the vicinity.

NAGORE,—Coromandel coast; lat. $10^{\circ} 49'$, lon. $79^{\circ} 54'$. 8 ft. on the bar at high-water. Several vessels of 200 or 300 tons burthen belong to this place.

PORTO-NOVO,—Coromandel coast; lat. $11^{\circ} 31'$, lon. $79^{\circ} 49'$. Ships must anchor 2 m. off shore, in 6 or 7 fath. River small at its mouth; admits only coasting craft.

CUDDALORE,—Coromandel coast; lat. $11^{\circ} 43'$, lon. $79^{\circ} 50'$. River small, and mouth closed up by a bar. Admits coasting craft; good anchorage off shore $1\frac{1}{2}$ m.

PONDICHERRY,—Coromandel coast; lat. $11^{\circ} 56'$, lon. $79^{\circ} 54'$. 7 or 8 fath., about $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile from land; 12 or 14 fath. in the outer road. Mouth of a small river, capable of admitting coasting craft. French possession; lighthouse, 89 ft.

MADRAS,—Coromandel coast; lat. $13^{\circ} 5'$, lon. $80^{\circ} 21'$. Anchorage 2 m. from shore, 9, 10, or 11 fath.; 300 yards from beach, varying from 12 to 25 ft. Vessels obliged to anchor 2 m. from shore, exposed to a heavy swell rolling in from seaward. Surf at all times sufficient to dash to pieces any European boat. During the S.W. monsoon no communication with the shore can be held without great danger. Fort St. George, strong.

NIZAMPATNAM,—Coromandel coast; lat. 15° 55', lon. 80° 44'. No vessel of great burthen can approach the place. A considerable coasting trade.

MASULIPATAM,—Golconda coast; lat. 16° 10', lon. 81° 13'. Very shallow, $\frac{1}{2}$ fath. for nearly a mile. Ships must anchor 4 or 5 m. from the land, and abreast of the town.

CORINGA,—Golconda coast; lat. 16° 49', lon. 82° 19'. Bar at entrance, with 12 or 14 ft. at spring-tides. Within, from 2½ to 4 fath. Best place on this coast for building or repairing small vessels.

VIZAGAPATAM,—Orissa coast; lat. 17° 41', lon. 83° 21'. Bar at entrance passable for vessels of from 150 to 200 tons burthen. 8 or 10 ft. on bar; anchorage off land, 8 fath. In the S.E. monsoon, ships anchor S. of the Dolphin's Nose; in the N.E. monsoon, from 1½ to 1¾ m. from land.

JUGGURNATH, or **POOREE**,—Orissa coast; lat. 19° 49', lon. 85° 53'. No harbour for town. Surf here very violent; landing can be effected only by boats similar to those used on the Coromandel coast.

BALASORE,—Orissa coast; lat. 21° 30', lon. 87°. 12 to 15 ft. on bar at spring-tides. Large ships cannot enter the river; they must lay in Balasore-roads, where they are in some degree sheltered. Dry docks, to which vessels may be floated during spring-tides.

KEDJEREE,—Bengal; lat. 21° 53', lon. 88°. 6 or 7 fath.; a bank has reduced the depth to 2 or 2½ fath. at low-water. Telegraphic communication with Calcutta, to announce arrivals and intelligence.

DIAMOND HARBOUR,—Bengal; lat. 22° 12', lon. 88° 10'.

So called as a part of Hooghly river. Formerly the resort of the large "Indiamen."

CHITTAGONG,—Bengal; lat. 22° 29', lon. 91° 54'. Formerly a place of considerable trade, but now declining; other ports having supplanted it.

AKYAN,—Arracan; lat. 20° 10', lon. 92° 54'. Good harbour. Suited for a commercial town.

KHYOUK PHYOU,—Arracan; lat. 19° 24', lon. 93° 34'. Harbour said to be one of the finest in the world. Safe ingress for largest-sized ships at any season of the year.

GWA, or **GOA**,—Arracan; lat. 17° 33', lon. 94° 41'. Barred. Harbour for vessels of 200 tons burthen.

BASSEIN,—Pegu; lat. 16° 45', lon. 94° 50'. Deep river channel affords a safe passage for large ships.

RANGOON,—Pegu; lat. 16° 46', lon. 96° 17'. Anchorage off the town in river. Rangoon river, a branch of the Irawaddy river.

MOULMEIN,—Tenasserim; lat. 16° 30', lon. 79° 42'. An excellent well-sheltered haven. Fine seaport town. Forests in the neighbourhood, with other advantages favourable for ship-building.

AMHERST,—Tenasserim; lat. 16° 4', lon. 97° 40'. Harbour large, difficult of access, and, during the S.W. monsoon, dangerous.

TAVOY,—Tenasserim; lat. 14° 7', lon. 98° 18'. Obstructed by shoals and banks. Inaccessible for large ships within some miles of the town.

MERGUI,—Tenasserim; lat. 12° 27', lon. 98° 42'. Harbour spacious, secure, and easy of access and egress for ships of any size. Town inaccessible for vessels of large burthen, as a bank obstructs the stream.

*Military Stations.**—1. Agra; 2. Ahmedabad; 3. Ahmednuggur; 4. Akyab; 5. Allahabad; 6. Allyghur; 7. Allypore; 8. Almora; 9. Arcot; 10. Arnee; 11. Asseerghur; 12. Baitool; 13. Bareilly; 14. Barrackpore; 15. Bancoorah; 16. Bandah; 17. Bangalore; 18. Balmer; 19. Baroda; 20. Broach; 21. Beawar; 22. Benares; 23. Berhampore; 24. Bellary; 25. Belgaum; 26. Bhagulpore; 27. Bhooj; 28. Bhopawur; 29. Bhurtport; 30. Bishnath; 31. Bombay; 32. Burdwan; 33. Buxar; 34. Cannanore; 35. Cawnpore; 36. Chicacole; 37. Chinsurah; 38. Chirra-poonjee; 39. Chittagong; 40. Chunar; 41. Cuddapah; 42. Cuttack; 43. Dacca; 44. Dapoollee; 45. Delhi; 46. Dehra; 47. Deesa; 48. Dharwar; 49. Dinapore; 50. Dindigul; 51. Dorunda; 52. Dumdum; 53. Durrumbaun; 54. Etawah; 55. Frazerpet; 56. Ft. William; 57. Futtchghur; 58. Ghazeeport; 59. Goruckpore; 60. Gowhatty; 61. Gurrawarra; 62. Gwalior; 63. Hansi; 64. Hawilbagh; 65. Hazareebagh; 66. Hoosungabad; 67. Hursole; 68. Hyderabad (Deccan); 69. Hyderabad (Sinde); 70. Kaira; 71. Khyou-phyou; 72. Kirkee; 73. Kulladjee; 74. Kurnaul; 75. Kurrachee; 76. Jounpore; 77. Jubbulpore; 78. Jumalpoor; 79. Lahore; 80. Lohoooghaut; 81. Loodiana; 82. Lucknow; 83. Malligaum; 84. Mangalore; 85. Masulipatam; 86. Meerut; 87. Midnapore; 88. Mirzapoor; 89. Mhow; 90. Moradabad; 91. Moorshedabad; 92. Mudduckray; 93. Mullay; 94. Mundlaiser; 95. Mynpooree; 96. Nagpore; 97. Nee-much; 98. Noagaum; 99. Nusseerabad; 100. Ootacamund; 101. Palamcotta; 102. Palavera; 103. Palgatcheri; 104. Peetoraghur; 105. Peshawur; 106. Poona; 107. Poonamallee; 108. Prome; 109. Quilon; 110. Rangoon; 111. Rajkote; 112. Russell-Koondah; 113. Samulkotta; 114. Sattara; 115.

Sangor; 116. Seerolee; 117. Seetapoor; 118. Se-cunderabad; 119. Suharunpore; 120. Seroor; 121. Shahjehanpore; 122. Sholapoor; 123. Silhet; 124. St. Thomas's Mt. (Ft. St. George); 125. Subathoo; 126. Sultanpore (Benares); 127. Sultanpore (Oude); 128. Surat; 129. Trichinopoly; 130. Vellore; 131. Vizianagrum; 132. Vizagapatam; 133. Wallajahbad.

Principal Native Cities.—1. Ahmedabad; 2. Ajmere; 3. Amritsir; 4. Azimghur; 5. Bandah; 6. Banswarra; 7. Bareilly; 8. Baroda; 9. Beejapoor; 10. Beekaneer; 11. Benares; 12. Bhawulpore; 13. Bhooj; 14. Bhopal; 15. Boondee; 16. Burdwan; 17. Burrampore; 18. Calcutta; 19. Calpee; 20. Cuddapah; 21. Culna; 22. Cuttack; 23. Dacca; 24. Dholpore; 25. Dinajepore; 26. Dohud; 27. Dutteah; 28. Elliehpore; 29. Ellore; 30. Etawah; 31. Ferozabad; 32. Furruckabad; 33. Futtchpore; 34. Fyzabad; 35. Garakota; 36. Gayah; 37. Goruckpore; 38. Guntoor; 39. Gwalior; 40. Hurdwar; 41. Hyderabad (Deccan); 42. Hyderabad (Sinde); 43. Indore; 44. Kashmir; 45. Khatmandoo; 46. Kolapoor; 47. Jamoo; 48. Jansi; 49. Jeypore; 50. Joudpore; 51. Lahore; 52. Leia; 53. Lucknow; 54. Lukkur; 55. Madura; 56. Midnapore; 57. Mittunkote; 58. Moorsheadabad; 59. Muttra; 60. Nagpore; 61. Oodeypore; 62. Patna; 63. Putteeala; 64. Rangoon; 65. Sattara; 66. Sikri; 67. Silhet; 68. Tanjore; 69. Trichinopoly.

Principal Maritime Stations.—1. Akyab; 2. Amherst; 3. Arracan; 4. Balasore; 5. Broach; 6. Bombay; 7. Calcutta; 8. Cambay; 9. Cannanore; 10. Cochin; 11. Coringa; 12. Dalhousie; 13. Diu; 14. Kedjeree; 15. Kurrachee; 16. Madras; 17. Mangalore; 18. Masulipatam; 19. Mergui; 20. Moulmein; 21. Poorbunder; 22. Quilon; 23. Ramoo; 24. Rangoon; 25. Surat; 26. Vizagapatam.

Sanitaria.—Aboo, (Mt.); Chunar; Darjeeling; Ootacamund; Landour; Simla; Mahabulishwar; Murree (on a spur of the Suttee hills in the Hazara district); Chumba (at the head of the Baree Doob.)

* *Seats of Government.*—1. Agra; 2. Bombay; 3. Calcutta, or Fort William; 4. Hyderabad (Sinde); 5. Lahore; 6. Madras, or Fort St. George.

TABLE OF DISTANCES BETWEEN DIFFERENT

To find the Distance between two places, such as Bombay and Poonah, look along the column parallel to the word in the intersection show

Agra.....	460	660	200	296	1205	625	579	1019	1207	125	379	705	848	839	185	1104	1473	1060	980	984	400	120	794	836	70	98	760	1048	1052	200	830
Ahmedabad ...	388	280	625	850	320	800	640	921	600	680	245	321	1234	600	740	1183	888	681	1304	104	570	1085	903	500	550	840	678	798	490	610	
Ahmednuggur		610	735	602	68	1047	340	530	875	700	627	181	1038	640	400	883	440	270	321	523	965	1000	370	640	690	670	250	350	810	280	
Ajmere.....	504	1214	545	787	973	1161	335	587	400	650	1035	395	1058	1407	1058	870	1194	220	220	997	930	260	304	933	995	977	210	816			
Allahabad.....	1110	635	279	975	1096	283	80	805	977	498	143	1060	1391	965	905	690	610	429	493	934	190	238	510	1030	1099	509	735				
Arcot.....	649	1392	262	135	1312	1180	1198	722	1850	1165	273	390	145	360	1227	1125	1329	1252	323	1115	1230	685	530	209	1409	375					
Aurangabad...	980	428	616	782	704	596	260	963	638	513	882	513	412	1275	492	749	1210	523	610	700	630	423	440	750	315						
Bahar.....	1267	1455	509	196	1121	1236	297	400	1352	1673	1247	1237	407	889	703	230	1115	502	467	430	1312	1201	549	1017							
Bally.....	176	1110	1045	977	455	1090	1030	85	454	149	130	1192	863	1143	1288	325	1000	1079	450	240	53	1118	240								
Bangalore.....	1324	1162	1141	632	1161	1147	138	317	155	260	1327	1011	1331	1352	423	1107	1242	753	396	176	1252	361									
Barilly....	345	830	1036	910	177	1195	1623	1135	1105	904	525	142	737	1175	120	82	830	1215	1151	322	967										
Benares.....	875	950	428	226	1130	1461	1035	995	559	690	503	410	873	270	321	460	1100	989	589	745											
Bhoj.....	556	1415	749	985	1510	1109	888	1639	219	669	1748	1148	699	747	1085	923	1013	600	855												
Bombay.....	1301	939	494	780	609	364	1475	452	880	1400	779	710	956	851	292	487	790	480													
Calcutta.....	700	1173	1498	997	1172	177	1226	976	233	719	768	...	369	1300	1017	1049	902														
Cawnpore.....	1115	1446	1020	980	833	530	309	636	655	80	95	653	975	974	389	790															
Chittledroog...	397	190	130	1348	923	1228	1373	444	490	1164	784	257	20	1263	325																
Cochin.....	472	442	1673	1306	1597	1698	769	1396	1541	1070	467	472	1632	656																	
Cuddapah	279	1172	1005	1184	1197	268	970	1085	608	389	96	1171	220																		
Dharwar.....	1344	684	1105	1260	420	1022	1112	720	80	173	1080	265																			
Dacca.....	1140	1108	190	904	829	880	546	1505	1192	1148	1112																				
Deesa.....	450	1100	810	450	500	870	730	873	430	630																					
Delhi.....	911	960	175	185	880	1172	1125	80	900																						
Dinajepoor....	919	691	692	544	1620	1217	991	1137																							
Ellore.....	808	923	340	601	288	1040	208																								
Etawah.....	55	660	1033	924	210	740																									
Furrukabad..	748	1134	1069	265	885																										
Ganjam.....	843	590	960	450																											
Goa.....	293	1055	393																												
Gooty.....	1020	187																													
Hansi.....	880																														
Hydrabad....																															
Islamabad																															

DISTANCES

FROM

CALCUTTA.

Distances from Calcutta (contd.)

Adoni 1030

Allyghur 803

Almora 910

Anjengo 1577

Arracan 557

Azimghur 448

Backergunge 125

Balasure 116

Bancoorah 101

Banda 560

Barrackpoor 16

Beder 980

Bednore 1290

Beerbhoom 127

Beltool... .. 677

Bijnour 800

Broach.. .. 1228

Bhangulpoor 268

Bhopal... .. 790

Burdwan 74

Buxar 398

Cabool 1815

Calingapatam 480

Calpee 648

Cambay 1253

Candahar 2047

Cashmere 1564

Chunar 437

Comorin Cape 1770

Catmandoo 560

Dinapore 411

Ellichpoor 700

Ferozpoor 1181

Futtyghur 703

Ghazeepoor 431

Golconda 907

Guntoor 867

Gwalior 772

Hoosungabad 924

Indore 1030

Jeypoor 850

Lahore 1356

Lassa 850

Midnapoor 69

Mirzapoor 448

Monghyr 304

Moorsshedabad 124

Muttra 831

Mysoor 1246

Oude 562

Purneah 283

Sironj 849

Sumbulpoor 309

Tattah 1602

Vellore 1029

DISTANCES

FROM

MADRAS.

Distances from Madras (contd.)

Naggery 57

Neermull 533

Negapatam... .. 160

Nundidroog... .. 196

Oojain 1009

Oude 1228

Paniput 1428

Pouany 401

Pubua 1211

Pulicat... .. 22

Quilon 385

Raichoor 349

Ratanad 275

Rhotuk 1422

Rmgpoor 1322

Ruttunpoor 903

Suharunpoor 1477

Sadras 42

Secunderabad 398

Sherghotty 1258

Shahabad 1367

Tattah 1467

Sironj... .. 905

Tinnevely 350

Trivandrum 395

Tranquebar 147

Tuticorin 325

Venkatagcherry 132

Warangul 414

Yelwall 293

DISTANCES

FROM

CALCUTTA.

Adoni	1030
Allyghur	803
Almora	910
Anjengo	1577
Arracan	557
Azinghur	448
Backergunge	125
Balasore	116
Bancoorah	101
Banda	560
Barrackpoor	16
Beder	980
Bednore	1290
Beerbhoom	127
Beltool	677
Bijnour	800
Broach	1228
Bhaugulpoor	268
Bhopal	790
Burdwan	74
Buxar	398
Cabool	1815
Calingapatam	480
Calpee	648
Cambay	1253
Candahar	2047
Cashmere	1564
Chunar	437

Distances from Calcutta (contd.)

Comorin Cape	1770
Catmandoo	560
Dinapoor	411
Ellichpoor	700
Ferozpoor	1181
Futtyghur	703
Ghazeepoor	431
Golconda	907
Guntoor	867
Gwalior	772
Hoosungabad	924
Indore	1030
Jeypoor	850
Lahore	1356
Lassa	850
Midnapoor	69
Mirzapoor	448
Monghyr	304
Moorsbedabad	124
Muttra	831
Mysoor	1246
Oude	562
Parneah	283
Sironj	849
Sumbulpoor	309
Tattah	1602
Vellore	1029

DISTANCES

FROM

MADRAS.

Adoni	270
Arnee	74
Azinghur	1220
Backergunge	1246
Balasore	922
Baudah	1102
Beder	470
Bednore	360
Belgaum	519
Bimlipatam... ..	518
Broach	947
Burdwan	1066
Cabool	2134
Calicut	335
Cannanore	345
Cashmere	1882
Chingleput	36
Chunar	1146
Comorin Cape	440
Condapilly	285
Conjeveram	42
Cuddalore	100
Dindigul	217
Dowlutabad	655
Ellichpoor	600
Golconda	358
Guntoor	225
Gwalior	1164
Indore	975
Jaggurnauth	595
Kamptee	722
Kornool	289
Lahore	1675
Moorsbedabad	1138

Distances from Madras (contd.)

Naggery	57
Neernull	533
Negapatam... ..	160
Nundidroog... ..	196
Oojein	1009
Oude	1228
Paniput	1428
Ponany	401
Pubna	1211
Pulicat	22
Quilon	385
Raichoor	349
Ramnad	275
Rhotuk	1422
Rnnngpoor	1322
Ruttunpoor	903
Suharunpoor	1477
Sadras	42
Secunderabad	398
Sherghotty	1258
Shahabad	1367
Tattah	1167
Sironj	905
Tinnevely	350
Trivandrum	335
Tranquebar	147
Tuticoria	325
Vocatagherry	132
Warangul	414
Yelwall	293

PLACES IN BRITISH INDIA.—(BRITISH MILES.)

Bombay until it intersects the vertical column immediately over the termination of the word Poonah. The figures the number of Miles.

1124	628	300	916	480	150	777	202	1158	1460	1288	981	538	210	1305	454	1372	796	918	1315	920	856	250	160	1215	994	778	380	680	1400	1279	1406	1173	960	898	
1514	340	683	1145	24	480	1032	640	1049	1177	896	820	440	280	1021	820	1101	413	770	1061	860	478	400	615	941	1285	571	675	158	1161	995	1131	840	648	880	
1350	90	785	1060	384	540	853	660	613	720	503	470	360	605	580	995	682	76	520	610	550	120	440	750	500	1180	129	690	262	700	698	680	597	260	580	
1270	550	480	1037	290	310	960	415	1152	1421	1242	975	553	20	1265	747	1297	730	903	1261	910	790	305	364	1185	1197	710	580	455	1403	1150	1331	1214	920	923	
804	570	60	620	625	140	484	127	1055	1375	1244	979	405	430	1226	243	1167	788	650	1175	652	856	220	168	1149	760	735	70	765	1314	1239	1245	1075	935	933	
1310	601	1160	1218	986	1025	798	1215	73	265	300	305	705	1134	210	1340	81	636	383	120	413	542	915	1235	210	1395	462	1170	870	165	290	170	9	458	503	
1272	35	685	1033	353	510	774	688	689	824	697	533	293	460	720	864	739	144	470	716	490	209	380	725	640	1347	174	694	231	858	610	828	639	349	550	
547	947	190	270	840	400	455	353	1237	1657	1536	1160	717	709	1508	40	1326	1138	640	1150	630	1147	440	360	1431	410	1057	170	1060	1444	1527	1566	1390	1077	600	
1338	360	915	1210	698	890	834	1080	317	396	269	345	460	830	292	1205	343	357	370	288	400	265	770	1050	212	1413	200	1035	640	340	260	353	220	230	480	
1292	543	1146	1263	914	1011	898	1197	208	262	198	378	687	1066	130	1382	170	534	473	100	503	463	891	1181	65	1477	388	1152	809	209	160	165	110	360	522	
1059	753	270	772	605	210	940	156	1297	1577	1345	1185	575	335	1458	472	1386	940	970	1316	935	981	330	85	1381	927	810	321	842	1516	1328	1409	1235	1020	1216	
699	705	40	420	685	220	430	189	1103	1445	1314	748	475	510	1296	155	1286	930	660	1155	600	915	280	234	1170	600	815	10	905	1384	1305	1286	1180	1035	570	
1701	585	855	1349	234	669	1277	779	1167	1281	1116	1098	685	410	1125	1044	1279	620	1065	1306	1105	685	645	865	1186	1475	778	865	365	1383	1196	1306	1188	820	1125	
1531	220	1037	1312	313	660	1034	923	774	862	518	686	552	560	699	1143	805	98	705	736	740	146	555	855	622	1605	258	1120	177	674	615	845	675	270	761	
250	952	500	214	1206	600	251	649	1030	1336	1313	764	722	1106	1268	340	1130	1208	665	1192	619	1232	806	694	1170	325	934	455	1238	1236	1312	1238	1029	1252	557	
925	570	160	763	540	88	627	40	1182	1430	1199	700	460	340	1281	220	1271	841	793	1200	820	789	220	82	1204	903	709	216	738	1309	1290	1383	1120	981	1076	
1423	415	1110	1383	784	975	919	1165	345	400	184	432	655	973	220	1290	354	396	494	228	524	310	850	1195	152	1498	260	1120	671	380	188	303	230	225	614	
1709	710	1441	1580	1165	1344	1244	1496	459	150	252	751	985	1370	110	1121	360	770	790	180	820	622	1224	1524	190	1794	555	1451	1045	316	140	180	290	482	900	
1233	430	1015	1108	730	880	743	1070	165	410	380	223	560	900	285	1195	226	507	318	205	348	414	750	1000	231	1308	300	1025	725	349	331	250	110	379	438	
1452	320	955	1368	645	658	948	920	446	496	190	478	520	875	340	1475	260	268	470	360	500	180	676	976	260	1492	196	985	523	502	270	485	340	100	580	
140	1241	599	110	1120	690	429	748	1211	1492	1488	931	1011	1069	1445	447	1319	1377	842	1202	812	1109	720	818	1403	130	1109	565	1413	1438	1495	1377	1225	1462	716	
1476	380	668	1130	110	450	1052	560	1129	1259	896	848	470	220	1103	845	1205	416	840	1044	1057	581	420	560	1233	1260	684	680	261	1134	954	1166	1120	611	880	
1202	748	415	896	500	270	882	280	1295	1594	1412	1109	662	230	1435	661	448	900	1022	1402	1022	958	370	600	210	1355	1103	694	505	675	1533	1323	1473	1230	1098	1072
330	970	410	80	1050	630	454	581	1236	1517	1513	964	740	920	1628	234	1324	1325	824	1317	794	1170	650	631	1428	190	1080	420	1258	1443	1528	1422	1240	1300	714	
969	400	913	840	758	718	475	705	314	588	584	45	398	838	558	945	395	681	50	425	80	510	598	1114	499	1044	378	863	735	514	599	518	310	490	160	
994	560	240	698	470	90	707	110	1114	1180	1076	853	410	260	1231	400	1220	754	755	150	770	819	210	110	1055	870	690	265	540	1319	1240	1189	1070	959	1156	
1042	605	223	727	530	140	858	111	1165	1495	1348	968	465	280	1376	481	1365	858	870	1295	796	909	250	65	1299	921	730	312	760	1434	1155	1434	1215	1049	935	
1282	590	498	579	816	370	90	637	697	938	860	370	400	940	855	445	735	720	290	813	260	742	510	690	839	694	610	455	860	889	939	855	660	800	170	
1545	340	1080	1385	602	933	1076	1025	589	629	215	611	625	825	375	1260	611	265	651	410	681	160	803	1148	393	1620	210	1090	469	638	305	618	487	30	762	
1550	360	1041	1128	734	834	763	1024	264	438	322	295	514	830	300	1149	290	350	338	250	368	310	714	954	230	1342	230	979	632	418	280	320	190	273	448	
1313	660	495	976	500	350	962	360	1395	1514	1313	1181	738	230	1416	741	1360	750	1083	1412	1098	930	450	290	1336	1183	924	584	665	1449	1360	1471	1344	1070	1148	
1152	250	785	1157	556	650	683	840	388	640	509	218	330	670	491	900	480	387	225	410	250	302	530	770	417	1227	170	735	565	569	500	549	330	350	320	
Jaulnah..	620	990	300	480	690	1600	668	756	535	468	230	470	652	865	682	168	430	643	506	210	350	650	572	1277	155	695	247	730	580	713	540	370	500		
Juamoor..	460	675	190	470	135	1143	1425	1294	788	410	517	1276	160	1233	651	800	1195	705	840	270	185	1202	603	40	815	1254	1285	1334	1115	970	610				
Jumalpoor..	1110	640	460	609	1240	1483	1660	974	760	930	1393	300	1340	1211	830	1567	810	1190	740	659	1434	143	1120	430	1160	1446	1657	1388	1223	1340	1720				
Katra.....	460	1033	580	1025	1153	872	768	416	270	997	840	1077	377	746	1037	766	443	400	620	917	1253	513	675	122	1084	911	1064	981	572	908					
Katlah.....	583	137	1024	1290	1040	763	330	308	1147	375	1140	654	675	1070	685	690	130	170	1077	783	660	210	539	1219	1050	1209	990	859	670						
Kuttack.....	619	812	1063	1059	520	582	790	1028	570	870	1002	380	900	350	869	490	664	974	576	680	430	1042	988	1074	993	785	1033	260							
Lucknow.....	1232	1480	1249	750	510	380	1331	316	1321	897	777	1250	779	897	250	50	1254	752	730	165	788	1419	1180	1389	1170	979	1060								
Madras.....	289	446	265	704	1058	283	1266	88	672	370	219	394	616	918	1282	281	1355	465	1093	903	206	405	207	87	566	498									
Madura.....	366	570	970	1226	148	1605	200	764	648	137	678	676	1170	1410	236	1661	596	1435	1035	1035	105	242	80	245	566	768									
Mangalore....	572	839	1108	198	1474	480	480	634	240	664	370	860	1160	130	1638	380	1304	755	376	90	355	335	230	744											
Masilpatam...	443	883	518	1090	378	546	80	428	100	520	643	800	464	1064	388	738	745	496	564	475	290	533	190												
Nagpore.....	440	821	635	811	451	374	740	388	430	200	542	744	1047	340	380	460	909	720	87																

Anglo-Indian Army.—Total Number of Europeans and Natives employed in all India, from the Year 1800.

Years.	Europeans.	Natives.	Total.	Years.	Europeans.	Natives.	Total.	Years.	Europeans.	Natives.	Total.
1800	22,832	115,300	138,132	1817	31,056	195,134	226,190	1834	32,310	155,556	187,866
1801	23,012	132,864	155,876	1818	32,161	211,079	243,240	1835	30,822	152,938	183,760
1802	24,341	122,506	146,847	1819	29,494	215,878	245,372	1836	32,733	153,306	186,039
1803	24,930	115,211	140,141	1820	28,645	228,650	257,295	1837	32,502	154,029	186,531
1804	23,042	155,671	178,713	1821	28,914	228,068	256,982	1838	31,526	153,780	185,306
1805	24,891	167,674	192,565	1822	29,065	216,175	245,240	1839	31,132	176,008	207,140
1806	26,415	156,421	182,836	1823	30,933	206,799	237,732	1840	35,604	199,839	235,443
1807	26,460	153,623	180,083	1824	30,555	212,842	243,397	1841	38,406	212,616	251,022
1808	29,798	151,120	180,918	1825	30,423	246,125	276,548	1842	42,113	212,624	254,737
1809	31,387	154,117	185,504	1826	30,872	260,273	291,145	1843	46,726	220,947	267,673
1810	31,952	157,262	189,214	1827	32,673	240,942	273,615	1844	46,240	216,580	262,820
1811	34,479	166,665	201,144	1828	34,557	224,471	259,028	1845	46,111	240,310	286,421
1812	33,835	165,622	199,457	1829	35,786	207,662	243,448	1846	44,014	240,733	284,747
1813	34,171	165,900	200,071	1830	36,409	187,067	223,476	1847	44,323	247,473	291,796
1814	31,651	162,787	194,438	1831	35,011	161,987	196,998	1848	44,270	220,891	265,161
1815	31,611	195,572	227,183	1832	34,767	158,201	192,968	1849	47,893	229,130	277,022
1816	32,399	198,484	230,883	1833	33,785	156,331	190,116	1850	49,280	228,448	277,728
								1851	49,408	240,121	289,529

*East India Banks.**

Name.	Date of Establish-ment.	Capital.		Notes in Circulation.	Specie in Coffers.	Bills under Discount.
		Subscribed.	Paid up.			
Bank of Bengal	1809	£1,070,000	£1,070,000	1,714,771	851,964	125,251
„ of Madras ^b	1843	300,000	300,000	123,719	139,960	59,871
„ of Bombay ^c	1840	522,500	522,500	571,089	240,073	195,836
Oriental Bank ^d	1851 ^e	1,215,000	1,215,000 ^f	199,279 ^g	1,146,529	2,918,399
Agra and U. S. Bank ^h —head office, Calcutta	1833	700,000	700,000	—	74,362	—
N. W. Bank ⁱ —head office, Calcutta	1844	220,560	220,000	—	—	—
London and Eastern Bank	1854	250,000	—	325,000	—	—
Commercial Bank ^j —head office, Bombay	1845	1,000,000	456,000	—	—	—
Delhi Bank ^k —head office, Delhi	1844	—	180,000	—	—	—
Simla Bank	1844	—	63,850	—	—	—
Dacca Bank	1846	30,000	—	—	—	—
Mercantile Bank ^l —head office, Bombay	—	500,000	328,826	777,156 ^m	77,239	109,647
Bank of Asia	1853 ⁿ 4	} not commenced business		yet.		
India, China, & Australian Bank	—					

* The accounts of most of these banks are vague and unsatisfactory; there is a mystification which renders it difficult to ascertain their solvency. ^b Last dividend, 8 per cent. ^c Last dividend, 9 per cent.

^d Last dividend, 10 per cent.

^e Corporation date of charter, 30th of August, 1851.

^f At 27th Sept., 1855.

^g Bills of exchange and promissory notes not bearing interest. ^h A lending bank; and from its accounts in June, 1855, I can derive no definite view of its assets and liabilities. *Branches.*—Agra, Madras, Lahore, Canton, and London.

ⁱ *Branches.*—Bombay, Simla, Mussouri, Agra; and they draw on Delhi and Cawnpore.

^j Agents in London, Calcutta, Canton, and Shanghai.

^k Agents in London, Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras.

^l *Branches.*—London, Calcutta, Colombo, Kandy, Canton, and Shanghai. Last dividend, 8 per cent.

^m Drafts and bills in circulation.

COMMERCIAL TARIFF OF INDIA.—The chief provisions of the tariff of 1855 may be thus stated:—*British imports*—Cotton and silk piece goods and manufactures, woollens, marine stores, metals, porter, beer, ale, cider, and similar fermented liquors, and all manufactured articles not named, 5; *foreign imports* of above, 10—per cent. Cotton thread, twist, and yarn, British, 3½; foreign, 7—per cent. Bullion and coin, grain, coal, ice, horses and other animals, free. Books, British, free; foreign, 3 per cent. Coffee, 7½ per cent. Alum, camphor, cassia, cloves, coral, nutmeg and mace, pepper, vermillion, and tea, 10 per cent. Spirits (London proof), 1 rupee 8 annas per imperial gallon; wine and liqueur, 1 rupee per imperial gallon. There are a few export duties: viz., indigo, 3 rupees per maund (about 82 lbs.); lac, 4 per cent; silk wound, 3 annas; silk, raw filature, 3½ rupees per seer; sugar and rum to foreign ports, 3 per cent; tobacco, 4 annas per maund. These duties refer to Bengal: there is little difference at Bombay and Madras, except in the export dues. With regard to salt, the duty on import into Bengal, is 2 rupees 8 annas per maund of 80 tolas; at Madras, 12 annas per maund; at Bombay, free; salt exported from Bombay to Madras, pays ½ anna per maund; salt exported to Malabar, Cochín, and Travancore, 1 anna per maund; and it may be exported free to foreign or British ports not in India or Ceylon. Salt exported to Bengal pays excise duty, but receives credit for amount in adjustment of local duty. The shipper exporting salt to Madras has to give security for payment of full duty failing to produce certificate from place of import. All port-to-port trade throughout British India, except in the articles of salt and opium, was rendered free by Act 6 of 1848, and Act 30 of 1854.

COINS, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.—*Bengal Coins.*—2 double = 4 single pysa; 12 pie small = 1 anna; 16 annas = 1 rupee; 16 rupees = 1 gold mohur. When accounts are kept in sicca rupes, they use the imaginary pie of twelve to an anna. Small shells, called cowries, are also made use of for paying coolies, &c., which are reckoned as follows: viz., 4 cowries = 1 gunda; 20 gundas = 1 pun; 6 puns = 1 anna. These rates vary from time to time. *Gold and Silver Weights.*—1 punkhos or quarter grain = 1 gram or dahn; 4 dahns = 1 ruty; 6 3-8ths ruty = 1 anna; 8 ruty = 2 massa; 100 ruty, or 121 massa or 16 anna = 1 tola or sicca rupes; 1061 ruty, or 13, 28, 152 massa, or 17 annas = 1 gold mohur. A gold mohur weighs 722 and nine-tenths troy weight, containing 187,651 fine gold and 17,051 alloy. A sicca rupee weighs 7, 11 and two-thirds ditto, containing 175,928 fine silver and 15,993 alloy. *Cloth Measure.*—3 corbe = 1 augualæ; 3 augualæ = 1 gheriah; 8 gherries = 1 haut, or eubit, 18 inches; 2 haut = 1 guz or yard.

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